

The Japan Christian Quarterly

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RAYMOND P. JENNINGS, Th. D., *Editor*

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Protestantism in Japan: The Sapporo "Gateway"

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THE JAPAN CHRISTIAN QUARTERLY

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The Editor's Exegesis

With this issue, the third in its Centennial Volume, *JCQ* completes its historical survey of the past century of Japanese Protestantism. The coverage has been far from complete or exhaustive. However, the principal events and personages have been covered, if only in a representative way. The purpose of the survey was to provide sufficient historical fact and relative interpretation to highlight the major trends and principal developments, in order that the reader could fairly and reliably appraise the past century's weakness. The value of such retrospect and appraisal is of course, to be found in an aggressive and courageous confrontation of the future. To this task *JCQ* dedicates its next issue, October 1959, and all future issues.

The present issue is focused about a unique strain of Japanese Christianity—indeed a strain somewhat singular in all of Christian history—that of the nationalistically tinged independence of the Sapporo Band. The coverage, we confess, is not as complete as has been that of other Bands nor even as complete as was desired. The material is supplemented by articles relative to other Bands, however, which reached the Editor too late for inclusion in previous issues.

The Editorial is an effort to point up the main emphasis of the Sapporo Band and is followed by a brief biography of Dr. William S. Clark, the inspiration of the Band. Very little is available in English concerning this man whose influence has been so profound. The regular "*They Went Before*" feature is a biography of Inazo Nitobe. Two missionaries of differing theological approach have been asked to record their fresh impressions on reading Nitobe's book, *Bushido: The Soul of Japan*. John M. L. Young and Robert McWilliams readily entered into the spirit of *JCQ*'s request and have provided two very clear statements that highlight the issues involved in "accommodating" (or "integrating" depending on one's point of view) Christian faith to indigenous cultural patterns. This is doubtless a concern that will (at least *should*) be coming to the forefront of the new century and *JCQ* is extremely grateful to these two men for the provocative and yet thoroughly honest treatment of this vital subject.

The choice of Nitobe and his book was not accidental but rather because of the fact the *JCQ* has contained considerable material in the past related to Kanzo Uchimura and his Non-Church Christianity.* The feeling was strong that other representatives of the Sapporo Band should be treated.

Mrs. Kiyo Cho's treatment of the correspondence between Danjo Ebina and his bride to be, Miyako, was intended for publication earlier but for various reasons was delayed.

* See *The Bookshelf* feature of this issue; *JCQ*, XXIII:2, pp.150ff.; XXIII:3, pp.243 ff.; XXIV:4, pp.290 ff. for a few of the more recent treatments of Uchimura and his views.

JCQ feels that it is far more than an interesting bypath in historical research, interesting and entertaining as it may be. Here is a real insight into many problems and concerns of Meiji Japan. Raymond Hammer's treatment of the development of the Episcopal Church in Japan helps to fill a gap in *JCQ*'s Centennial issues, created by attempting to center its coverage in the three major bands. Several large denominational groupings defy this arbitrary classification. Rev. Shiro Murata's article on the character of Japanese Protestantism from a theological point of view very adequately ties together the three bands we have been treating and attempts to reach some general conclusions.

This is, by way of introduction, the July 1959, *JCQ*. We wish you a *good* summer of *good* reading . . .

The Editor

**Centennial Conference of the Fellowship of Christian Missionaries
in Japan International Christian University—July 21-24, 1959**

GOD'S WAY WITH A PEOPLE

Christianity in Japan—Past, Present, Future

"Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, for He has visited and redeemed His people and has raised up a horn of salvation."—Luke 1:68.

Speakers:

Rev. Douglas Webster, Home Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, London.

Author of recent book, *What is Evangelism?* To lead four periods of Bible meditation.

Dr. R. Pierce Beaver, Professor of Missions, Federated Theological Faculty, The University of Chicago. To speak on "Issues in the World Mission."

Dr. Charles W. Iglehart, longtime missionary in Japan, Emeritus Professor of Missions, Union Theological Seminary, New York. To speak on "Appraising Japan's Christian Past."

Bishop Michael H. Yashiro, Presiding Bishop of Seikokai. To speak on "Interpreting our Times."

Rev. Kenneth E. Hein, professor of Tokyo Seikokai Seminary. To speak on "Anticipating the Next Century."

Addresses also will be presented at the opening of each day's session to bring forth the issues for discussion regarding the past, present, and future of Christianity in Japan. Among the speakers on these occasions will be Dr. Richard Drummond (Presbyterian missionary under the Inter-Board Committee) and Rev. B. L. Hinchman (Field Secretary of the Fellowship of American Baptist Missionaries in Japan).

Working groups under carefully-chosen leaders will give every missionary attending an opportunity for unhurried consideration of the significant issues before the Christian mission in Japan.

Panels composed of missionaries and Japanese Christian leaders will discuss questions raised by the working groups.

Plans also are being made for a Centennial tour, exhibits, book display, special music, recreation, children's program.

Every Protestant missionary in Japan should plan to attend.

Editorial

Confronting Culture

During the Centennial Year of Protestant Christian witness in Japan many (as has *JCQ*) have been making a pilgrimage into the past. With all due respect to those who have gone before let it be said that the one really justifiable purpose of such reminiscences is the gaining of understanding, strength, and inspiration for a bold adventure into the future.

It is dangerous to over generalize for the correlate is usually the sin of over simplification. Yet one generalization seems possible and valid: The past one-hundred years has seen Christian faith *planted* in Japan but that faith has not yet fully become accustomed to the cultural soil or the social atmosphere of its new environment. To be sure it has taken root—but it has flourished best where a bit of imported Western soil has also been introduced to provide a degree of foreign nourishment! It might be closer to the truth to suggest that Christianity has been *transplanted* rather than simply planted in Japan. The seed of the Gospel growing in Japanese soil might well produce a startling and totally unexpected plant that would grow in more abundant fashion. At least this is a possibility that the missionary must always be ready to consider.

H. Richard Neibuhr in his *Christ and Culture* (how provident of God to raise up so adequate an antidote to Rienhold!) views Christianity as an ellipse with two *focii*, Christ and culture, rather than simply as a circle with a single center, Christ. If such a position be granted then it must be said that Christianity in Japan has paid little heed to the second of the two *focii*, Japanese culture. Thus, at least geometretically speaking, the resulting figure is an anomaly. To be sure there have been individual Christians, even *bands*, which have seen the need for a living confrontation of culture but they have been viewed somewhat as excentrics or radicals and accused of extreme nationalism and a score of other sins. These, perhaps, are the historical figures, Japanese and missionary alike, upon whom the spotlight of critical and constructive appraisal must fall in the Centennial Year. These are the men of keen insight who can, more than others, point the direction for the Church in the years ahead.

The men of the Sapporo Band were of this strain. The Yokohama Band soon adopted Western *forms* of Christianity. They laid heavy stress on the ecumenical character of the Church and endeavored to keep the Church in Japan from falling prey to the atomization that marked Western Christianity—but to do so they chose one particular organizational form of Western Christianity. This particular form could not withstand the pressure and competition of other organizational forms and soon the very thing the early leaders had feared developed.

The Kumamoto Band chose a different organizational pattern and within that framework strove to maintain a degree of independence, self support, and theological freedom. It soon found itself being absorbed into the pattern of the Yokohama strain and, though some repercussions of its character are still felt within the *Kyodan*, its motivating purpose was more or less lost sight of. But Sapporo was different. The little band of rugged individualists did not select a Western form but sought to find a Japanese form for their new-found faith.

The influence of this band is in evidence on every hand today. Not just in terms of Non-Churchism, which has hardly taken the nation by storm, but in more subtle and influential ways. To be sure, the men of the *Dokuritsu Kyokai* may have gone to extremes and their nationalism (sadly misunderstood!) may have made enemies for them, but they pointed the way to a truly indigenous and culturally oriented Church for Japan. Thirty years ago Bruce Barton (how the theologians will cringe at that name!) was reminding Americans that "the church is too often rigid and unadaptable." He observed:

Jesus asked: "When the Son of man cometh shall he find faith on the earth?" He did not ask: "Shall he find a morning service at eleven o'clock, an evening service at seven, a mid-week prayer meeting and a young people's society?" But "shall He find faith?" He shall!

It is doubtful that the men of Sapporo ever read Barton or that he had any knowledge of them—but they were somewhat kindred spirits. The best known of the Sapporo men is doubtless Kanzo Uchimura and he was fairly representative of all of the band and very poiantly expressed the concern of all. For them, in Uchimura's words, "Not only history of Europe, but history of Japan is God-informed" Nitobe and others echoed these thoughts. For these men the problem goes deeper than any academic discussion of general and particular (or specific) revelation. As Uchimura once wrote, "The idea that non-Christian Japan is less God's than Christian England or America is entirely false. As the same physical laws work in Japan as in England and America, so the same justice and love of God rule here as there." But quite apart from the historical and more debatable question, he could write:

...I cannot but clearly see God's hand in the modern history of my country. It is I believe God-informed through and through. And when I speak of God in this connection, I do not merely mean the Ruler of universe and mankind. I mean the God of Luther and Calvin, of Dante and Milton, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Is this particular God, the God, of Christians, working in the modern history of Japan,—this is a question of all-absorbing interest to me. And I cannot conceal my conviction that he verily is.

The question of what particular juxtaposition exists between faith and culture, is not the primary concern here. If, in Neibuhr's analysis, one holds "Christ against Culture", or, as modern Roman Catholic theologians, that Christ is above culture, or, even if one sees Christ and culture in paradox, or Christ as the "transformer" of culture, the simple fact is that culture must be an object of consideration to the Christian. One cannot ignore culture. Culture determines many areas of life and thought and thus, inescapably, affects one's apprehension of Christ, even though that apprehension be of faith! Yet the Japanese Church has done precisely this: it has ignored Japanese culture.

This is not to say that Christianity has had no influence on Japanese culture. On the contrary, it has had a tremendous influence. But this, amazingly, has been almost *in spite of* the Church as such. The Church where it has been concerned with culture has been almost entirely preoccupied with Western culture.

At a recent meeting of Christian educators in Japan (names and places are purposely omitted to avoid misunderstanding) two outstanding speakers lectured on extremely vital topics: "Concerning the Modern Christian" and "Today's Man and New Testament Faith". Out of over a hundred in attendance only four were foreigners. The room was beautifully Japanese in decor, a large *tatami* hall with everyone seated on *zabuton*. In the *tokonoma* before which the speakers stood was a large wood carving of *Hotei*, a *kakemono* of obvious Chinese influence (although the Japanese present could identify it no further), and a flower arrangement of large mums and pine branches. The two Japanese lecturers, in such a typical Japanese setting, pursued their topics by quoting exclusively Western writers, theologians, and historians. The concern of the meeting was the presentation of the claims of the Christian Gospel to modern day Japanese university students—but the concern was approached in Western terms and concepts. Modern man was viewed as man produced by Western Christian culture—not a young Japanese caught in the clash of cultures. Not once was Japan's history, culture, religion, nor even its modern revolution, even mentioned.

Here at once is the extent of Christian influence of Japan and the tragic shortcoming of the Christian witness! Here is the point where the next century calls for creative confrontation of culture. As the men of Sapporo would quickly remind us, the Japanese is always a Japanese and even the prefix "modern" does not seriously alter the basic truth of the statement. Christian faith may transform that basic Japanese-ness but the Japanese (save for a few brave souls) will never leave his state of Japanese-ness to seek out Christianity. The Church must seek out the individual as a Japanese and in his Japanese setting. When the Church, deliberately or even by neglect, ignores culture, it is seriously limiting its own range of effective witnessing. Yet this is precisely what has happened, by and large, in the last century in Japan. The individuals who embraced Christianity in reality came out of their own cultural setting into not only the Christian Church but into a quasi-Western culture. They became in effect a band of "displaced persons". Indeed, not a few of those who entered the churches (and subsequently left them) were young men who had previously rejected their cultural heritage and were desperately seeking a new cultural "home". One unfortunate consequence of this was that such men were thus disqualified to bear a Christian witness to their own culture or to act as a leaven within that culture.

This is not to imply that Japanese culture *per se* can be accepted by the Christian or the Church. There is always at the heart of Christian faith that absolute objectivity which forces men to stand in judgment upon culture, not just their own but all cultures. There are, without question, those aspects of Japanese culture (and of Western culture!) which are abhorrent to the Christian and must be rejected; the Christian must never forget the admonition to "come ye out from among them and be ye separate". But this is not a

divine fiat to be indiscriminately applied to everything outside the narrow confines of one's particular and extremely limited local church fellowship. The point of "separation" is in the fact that the believer is "*in* but not *of*" this world. The degree of "*in-ness*" is not easy to determine but the very fact of human existence requires cultural orientation. Thus, unless modern Western cultural *en toto* is to be unreservedly equated with Christian faith (and the thoughtless missionary on the one hand and on the other the more naive Japanese youth often makes such an equation) then the fallacy of the Japanese totally rejecting his culture as an act of Christian devotion is readily seen.

The question as to how, and to what extent, the Christian can remain within his own cultural heritage and precisely how he should confront that culture is a matter for both individual and mutual consideration and not the present area of concern; the concern voiced here is simply that the Christian and the Church be confronting culture. The evangelization of Japan could be lost by default if such a concern is not forthcoming. Fortunately, there are evidences of deep and genuine concern; a new generation of young Japanese scholars is arising (some of them have been introduced to *JCQ* readers recently), seminaries at long last are adding courses in Japanese religions and missions, various national Christian bodies have set up special study commissions, a new Christian Study Center is being established in Kyoto. All of this will help. But the basic need is for individual Christians, especially those charged with specific evangelistic responsibilities, to dedicate themselves to a creative encounter with Japanese culture. Especially is this true of missionaries. The admonition of Uchimura to "young missionaries" may still have validity:

Then, preach the gospel. Preach it of course with intelligence. Find out the best equivalences in the native language for the gospel terms and expressions. Then do not fail to find in the native literature and religion, cases of very close approach to the gospel truth. Christianity is a human experience, and something like it is found in thoughts and beliefs of all peoples; else it will never be accepted. As far as Japan is concerned, there are many things in *Bushido* and Buddhism which come very close to Christianity: and by judicious use of these, preaching of Christianity in this country is made very much easier.

A voice from Sapporo echoing down the corridor of time!

The "founder" of the famous Sapporo Band was an American educator who spent only eight months in Japan but who is known, even today, to every Japanese school boy. Here is a brief sketch of the life and influence of William S. Clark, without which this issue of JCQ would be incomplete.

The Famous Dr. Clark

WILLIAM BILLOW

The Emperor Meiji, intent upon making Japan a country of true 19th Century character, sought leadership for this enterprise throughout the world. His foresight saw in the wide land of Hokkaido a vastness that could be exploited but not with the feudal methods then common to Japan. Western methods alone could cope with the problems that confronted this nation in the large island to the North. As early as 1872 a mission was dispatched to New England, the portion of the United States which approximated Hokkaido in climate and topography, to search out help for training pioneers.

Amherst, Massachusetts, was the place where the Emperor found the man he wanted. William Smith Clark, age 46, was heading a vigorous program of farm training at the recently founded Massachusetts Agricultural School. Dr. Clark's college in Massachusetts combined agricultural training with military discipline. Seeing the discipline, the Japanese mission members knew this man would be a good leader for their school and henceforth recommended Dr. Clark to their Emperor.

The Imperial invitation was answered and Dr. Clark arrived in Hokkaido in August, 1876.

Dr. Clark Responds to the Imperial Invitation

William Smith Clark was born in Ashfield, Massachusetts, July 31, 1826. At the age of 22, he graduated from Amherst University and proceeded to Goettingen, Germany, where he received his Doctor of Philosophy in the field of bio-chemistry. Returning to Amherst he taught chemistry until the outbreak of the war between the States. His leadership and ambition brought him to the rank of colonel by the time the war ended. He assumed the Presidency of the Massachusetts Agricultural School, established at Amherst under the Federal Land Grant act of 1862, in 1867.

Dr. Clark was not just a teacher; his Christian faith was deep and found expression in all that he did. It appears that this strength in faith for some time held up the answer to the Imperial invitation. Dr. Clark insisted that he would teach Bible at the school established in Hokkaido. Governor Murota of Hokkaido is reported to have told Dr. Clark that his people did not want Christian training. With equal vigor Dr. Clark declined to give up his sense of mission and at last the Hokkaido governor told him to come to Japan, but the Bible was to be taught as a cultural book.

With the Imperial invitation, 50 Bibles, ambition and uncompromising faith, Dr. William Smith Clark left his wife and family (eleven children) in Massachusetts and departed for Japan. Sapporo Agricultural College had been established but awaited a headmaster to give it a foundation, rules and purpose.

The time allowed to begin the new school was two years. Dr. Clark affirmed that he could do the job in one year. The strong will of the Yankee agriculturalist is noted in the fact that he actually accomplished his mission in less than one year—eight months to be exact.

Masatake Oshima in his book, *Dr. Clark and His Disciples (Kuraku Sensei to Sono Deshi-tachi)*, states that Clark's fundamental principle in education was the Bible. He was led by the Bible into all the studies. The foundation laid by Clark in Sapporo followed this principle throughout.

Dr. Clark was asked to formulate the rules of the new school. Rules had been written but when Dr. Clark saw them he was not satisfied in the least. The rules were obviously quite lengthy and cluttered with exactness on all points of discipline. Dr. Clark's feeling was that a school needed no difficult rules. His first rule was: "Be Gentlemen", and he felt that if this rule was not followed nothing further could be accomplished. The rules that were established, may have been few and not difficult, but they were enforced with Puritan strictness. Boys who broke the rules would be promptly dismissed from the school.

None of the sixteen students who matriculated in the first class of Sapporo Agricultural College were dismissed and all later became Christian.

The purpose of an agricultural college is self-evident. The Sapporo school was established with the specific idea of teaching the Hokkaido boys American farming methods in order that the vast areas and short growing season of Hokkaido might be fully utilized. Today this land reflects all that was introduced in the early years of the school—from foodstuffs to the very buildings in which the people live.

Stories of life in Hokkaido and the many hardships suffered by the pioneers both then and now give one pause to think of Dr. Clark's spirit while teaching this first class. He never gave them cause for despair. Cheerful in disposition, Dr. Clark was a master of story telling, often recounting his personal experiences as he worked in his home after school hours. He brooked no compromise, loved truth and taught the endurance to strive until the first truth was discovered. In all that he boldly witnessed the truth of the Bible. Dr. Clark felt that moral teaching was important for Japan but he held that without the Bible as the source any amount of moral teaching could have no lasting effect.

A Man of Prayer and of the Bible

Classes were begun with prayer. The boys who studied with Dr. Clark could not have helped but realize the determination and faith of this man. Governor Murota, as has been mentioned already, had flatly stated that the Christian faith was not popular in Hokkaido even though Imperial law by then permitted evangelism.

After classes were finished for the week Dr. Clark invited his boys into his home for Bible classes on Sunday afternoons. Like a father trains his child, Dr. Clark taught and

led his boys to know the Biblical Truth. He never attempted to "cause" his students to become Christians by external force or persuasion.

The boys sang hymns, memorized Bible verses and discussed the Bible with their teacher. Dr. Clark's success in this approach is noteworthy. Every member of this first class became Christian. There were sixteen in this group which included Seiken Oshima, Yomonoshin Kuroiwa, Shosuke Sato and Nadao Uchida. The next class of eighteen produced 15 Christians who included Kanzo Uchimura, Inazo Nitobe, Kinza Miyabe and Isamu Hiroi.

This is the group which came together a few years later to form the Sapporo Band, the Sapporo Independent Church and carry on Christian Evangelism in the spirit of Dr. Clark.

Most well known of the converts of the "Sapporo Band" is Kanzo Uchimura. The independent spirit of Dr. Clark carries through Uchimura, the "non-church" disciple who is probably better known today than Clark, the teacher.

The Influence of the Famous Dr. Clark

That Dr. Clark is famous in Japan cannot be doubted. He is a hero in Hokkaido and its growing university. Insofar as the Christian faith and Evangelistic enterprise in Japan is concerned—through his famous disciple Uchimura—he has been spawned a heretic or a prophet depending on your individual feeling about the non-church movement.

The "Covenant of Believers in Jesus" signed by the first group of students and soon afterwards by the second group is what directly led to the formation of the "Sapporo Band". After this group had organized their church in Sapporo and vowed to evangelize their neighbors the real principle upon which the university was founded spread beyond the campus. A loan of money from the Methodist Church was repaid in two years in order that the church could remain independent. Christian influence was such that the way was opened for many more Christian congregations to come into the city of Sapporo. The Independent Church has not increased over the years as might have been expected, but the church of Christ has spread and *this* certainly is due to Dr. Clark's early firmness on the matter of Bible teaching. As the boys who formed the "Sapporo Band" left Hokkaido for other parts of Japan the local work suffered but the contribution they made over the whole country cannot be discounted.

Dr. Clark is famous—not because he held that his boys must "Be Gentlemen", not because he told them upon his departure "Boys, be ambitious", but because his faith came first in all he did. It is difficult to imagine this New England teacher in any other context than that of a dedicated Christian doing his work, the same in Japan as in his native land.

The "Covenant of Believers in Jesus" was of course the basis for the continuation of Christian Evangelism by the students immediately after Dr. Clark's departure. Had Dr. Clark not written this covenant we may speculate that the lasting effect of his evangelism might be different. But this is only a speculation. The total effect of the influence of the "Sapporo Band" is still felt in Japan. In these later years the influence is not so

much by direct evangelism by a group as through the broader context of the lives that have been touched by the witness of the group.

When classes begin and Dr. Sato, one of the first group who is now president of Hokkaido University, speaks to the new students reminding them to "*Be ambitious!*" he must surely reflect the faith of Dr. Clark. As the students walk past Clark Memorial Hall and the new Clark Memorial Student Center they should continue to be reminded of Dr. Clark's fundamental principle—the Bible leads into all other studies.

As we reflect on Protestant Christian beginnings at the one-hundred year mark, the firmness and ambition of Dr. Clark as well as his accomplishments during his short term in Japan should give us cause for rejoicing. Missionary ambition in the era of the emerging younger church is a point to ponder.

The admonition to ambition still sounds like good advice for us to pass on to our colleagues as well as being applicable to ourselves.

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Dr. Clark and an Indigenous Church

(The following is quoted from an article by Masatake Oshima in the April 5, 1926, *Japan Christian Intelligencer*, entitled: "Reminiscences of Dr. W. S. Clark.")

"Of course, we kept up correspondence with him. Once, I asked him to send the Bible. He sent me a large family Bible full of marginal notes. Upon its title page, he wrote with his bold hand: 'Your request is granted; do not become dogmatic.' While he was in Sapporo, he often expressed his desire of setting up the Church of Antioch. We could not then understand what he meant. After some years when our religious knowledge increased, its meaning was disclosed to us. The Church of Antioch was a genuine Gentile Church, founded upon the freedom of faith. Circumcision was not needed to its members. The Mosaic laws were not required of them. The disciples there were called Christians for the first time. A glimpse of some happy idea must have come across the head of Pres. Clark of trying to set up a new ideal church upon the same basis as the Church of Antioch.

Perhaps, he thought, a great deal of Judaism was mingling in American Christianity. It must have been his long hope to find a new land, where people can worship God in spirit and truth according to the dictates of their own conscience. His hope was realized. He tried to test his ideal experiment upon the simple hearted young men of the new college and sow the seed of the gospel in the virgin soil of Hokkaido."

Here is a presentation of two distinct attitudes toward the conclusions of one of the outstanding leaders of the Sapporo Band, Dr. Inazo Nitobe. The issues are more than academic and doubtless will be discussed increasingly as Japanese Protestantism faces the next century and endeavors to come to grips with Japanese culture and history in more effective terms.

Thoughts on Reading Nitobe's *Bushido*: A Symposium

In an effort to present the concern of the Sapporo Band with a Christian confrontation of Japanese history and culture in a fresh and stimulating manner, JCQ asked two missionaries of differing theological position to express themselves briefly on the general theme of Dr. Inazo Nitobe's book *Bushido: The Soul of Japan*. The following two articles are the result. A brief biography of Dr. Nitobe will be found elsewhere in the *They Went Before* feature.

Bushido Embers into A Christian Flame?

JOHN M. L. YOUNG

"Christianity in its American or English form . . . is a poor scion to graft on *Bushido* stock. Should the propagator of the new faith uproot the entire stock, root and branches, and plant the seeds of the Gospel on the ravaged soil?" This is the question Japan's notable Inazo Nitobe asked his readers towards the close of his fascinating little book *Bushido: The Soul of Japan*. At the end he suggests his own answer. "'God has granted,' says the Koran, 'to every people a prophet in its own tongue.' The seeds of the Kingdom (of God), as vouched for and apprehended by the Japanese mind, blossomed in *Bushido* . . . In comparison with Christianity, *Bushido*, it must be confessed, is like 'a dimly burning wick' which the Messiah was proclaimed not to quench, but to fan into a flame."²

How then shall we estimate Nitobe's appraisal of *Bushido* as a glowing wick which can be fanned into flame by the Christian message? I have been asked to make such an estimate from the "conservative point of view pointing up Nitobe's 'compromise' of essential Christianity." The request came as a considerable surprise but I have accepted since the subject involves problems I believe to be vital in the proclamation of the gospel in Japan, problems which need some real rethinking today.

The Conservative Viewpoint

"The conservative point of view" from which I write should be made clear. It is simply that of taking as my measurement of judgment the teaching of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, accepted as being the verbally inspired Word of God "the

only infallible rule of faith and practice." Although this criterion of evaluation will be unacceptable to many *JCQ* readers, I must insist upon it as the only means by which Nitobe's conclusions can be judged in the light of the revealed will of God rather than the fallible opinion of men. Furthermore, since a man's presuppositions vitally affect his conclusions (and no one writes without them) I should further state those of mine which are closely related to the subject. In a sentence these are, belief in the existence of God as the ontological trinity, His temporal creation of the universe *ex nihilo* and of man in His image, the consequent general revelation of God in nature and man, man's fall into sin and spiritual blindness, his need of the supernatural regeneration of the Holy Spirit in order to perceive spiritual truth, and the necessity of faith in the vicarious atonement of Jesus Christ, Son of God and member of the Trinity, for man's redemption.

The Origin of Bushido

What then was *Bushido*? To obtain as objective an answer as possible we must ask several qualified historians. To Nitobe it was "the code of moral principles which the knights were required or instructed to observe. It is not a written code; at best it consists of a few maxims handed down from mouth to mouth or coming from the pen of some well-known warrior or savant." He adds that it possesses "the powerful sanction of veritable deed, and of a law written on the fleshly tablets of the heart."³ To the famous historians F. Brinkley and Baron Kikuchi, "History is silent as to the exact date when the term *bushi* came into use, but . . . when great provincial magnates began, about the tenth century, to support a number of armed retainers, these gradually came to be distinguished as *bushi*. In modern times the ethics of the *bushi* have been analyzed under the name *Bushido* (the way of the warrior), but of course no such term or any such complete code existed in ancient days."⁴

The eminent British philologist and professor at Tokyo's Imperial University, B. H. Chamberlain, has stated the following rather emphatically.

As for *Bushido*, so modern a thing is it that neither Kaempfer, Siebold, Satow, nor Rein- all men knowing their Japan by heart, ever once allude to it in their voluminous writings. The cause of their silence is not far to seek: *Bushido* was unknown until a decade ago! *The very word appears in no dictionary, native or foreign, before the year 1900.* Chivalrous individuals of course existed in Japan, as in all countries at every period; but *Bushido*, as an institution or a code of rules, has never existed. The accounts given of it have been fabricated out of whole cloth, chiefly for foreign consumption.⁵

A more recent effort to arrive at a careful appraisal of *Bushido's* origin can be found in the SCAP report where we read, "Zen monks introduced from China the teachings of Shushi, a Chinese Confucian philosopher of the twelfth century, which, in the seventeenth century, became the foundation of *Bushido*, 'the way of the warrior.' . . . It was this Shushi school of Confucianism, fostered by Zen, which promoted an alliance with Shinto and ultimately led to the Shinto renaissance and its disastrous aftermath."⁶

To sum up, *Bushido* seems to be a twentieth century word invented to describe what, through the years, has generally been considered the most exemplary code of conduct of

notable *samurai*. The motivation for this conduct sprang principally from a syncretism of the ideas of filial piety and loyalty-to-superiors of Confucianism, the stoicism of Zen Buddhism, and the lofty "self-respect" of Shintoism inculcated by its teaching of the divine descent of the Japanese and, as Nitobe put it, "the innate goodness and Godlike purity of the human soul, adoring it as the adytum from which divine oracles are proclaimed."⁷

Nitobe's book in a remarkable way puts the best foot forward for the *Bushido* product of this syncretism. It cannot be denied that it did produce some outstanding instances of individual integrity, magnanimity and even humility although Nitobe acknowledges, "It must be admitted that very few attained this sublime height of magnanimity, patience and forgiveness."⁸ At all events, the long record of outstanding courage, complete self-sacrifice and absolute loyalty and devotion to the leige lord on the part of a great number of *samurai* is beyond dispute.

Bushido's Great Defect

In giving *Bushido* its full credit, however, if we are properly to weigh the idea that "Christianity grafted upon *Bushido* will be the finest product of the world,"⁹ we cannot so easily slip over its failings as has Nitobe. Chief among these, and devastating to its concept of morality, was its entire ignoring of the Holy God and man's relation to this his Creator. Hakuseki Arai, writing in 1715 on *Seiyo Kibun* (*Glimpses of the West*), makes it very clear why the *Bushido* had to reject God. His presentation is summarized by Arimichi Ebisawa (not to be confused with the late Akira Ebisawa) as follows.

Should it be assumed that there exists the Lord of Heaven who is far superior to our Emperor and parents, it would mean that there exist two supreme rulers in the State, a faith which would result in holding our Emperor and parents in low esteem. And if such a faith should be carried to an extreme, there might result such indiscreet and wicked men as might endanger the lives of their superiors or parents without any consciousness of the heinous crime.¹⁰

The reasoning is clear. If the *samurai* believed that their highest loyalty was to a just God, then an arbitrary ruler could never be sure of his safety. In that case the 47 *ronin* might have sought the life of the *shogun* who condemned their lord to death instead of that of Kira who was rude to him. It was thus essential for the rulers to make certain that what Hearn calls "the religion of loyalty"¹¹ had no place in it for the *samurai* personally to worship the God of Heaven.

That the *Bushido* concept of loyalty indeed had in it all that is involved in religion and worship can be seen from the following quotation from the *Hagakure* of 1716, a book of instructions from an old warrior to a young one.

When you realize how for generations your family has served for the house of his lordship... you will be moved by a deep sense of gratitude. For you, there should be no thought but of service for the one who has claim on your grateful heart. Be firm in this thought. Be unmovable even if Guatama himself, even if Confucius the wise, or even if the first Deity of the realm were to entice you. Be content to descend to hell or to receive the scourge of God or of Buddha on your back, if need be. For you, there is only one to follow or heed. Only the mind so firm and steadfast will find favour in the sight of the deities or of Buddha.¹²

All that man ought to render to God alone, his deepest devotion and supreme allegiance, is here commanded to be given a fallible ruler. Is this not the very essence of idolatry? (Rom. 1:25) In *Bushido* filial piety and loyalty to superiors entirely supplanted duty to God as man's highest calling. This code of conduct was as unassailable to the *Bushido* as the Ten Commandments are to the Christian. The fact that a stone image, or a code on a silken scroll, was not worshipped as a symbol of the absolute sovereignty of the ruler, or of the code prescribing one's behaviour to his lord, made the demanded relationship to the human sovereign no less idolatrous, for basically it was the elevation of the creature over the Creator.

Although *Bushido* was perhaps the finest code of ethics produced without Christian influence in its time, its very splendor tended to blind the eyes of its admirers to its great defect. They missed the significance of its rejection of God. This made it all the more difficult for them to comprehend the Christian emphasis that the gap, between the ethical system which satisfied man and the moral life required by God, must be bridged by divine regeneration and an act of deep confession of man's inadequacy and consequent complete dependence on God alone for deliverance from the bondage of sin to a truly moral life. Viewed in this light, does it not appear that *Bushido* instead of being a help to the advancement of Christianity was in actuality a handicap to its progress?

Low Value Placed on Life

The serious defects of the *Bushido* morality can all be traced back to this tragic rejection of God. Consider the extremely low value placed upon human life. If a man is not thought of as having intrinsic value because of being created in the image of God, but is considered only a pawn existing for the good pleasure of his superior, of what moment is it to cut off his life when he ceases to please the superior? Where in the world was life held cheaper than in the land of the *samurai* where, for instance, under Tsunayoshi (*shogun* who ordered the death of the lord of the forty-seven *ronin*) a ban was passed on killing animal life and men were executed for fishing, and one for throwing a stone at a dog!¹³ Justice was considered of no significance when the law of the superior was concerned. A seventeenth century edict read, "Even though a parent acts with extreme injustice, it is a gross breach of filial duty that a son should institute a suit-at-law against a parent. There can be no greater immorality, and the penalty of death should be meted out to the son unless the parent petitions for his life."¹⁴

The *Bushido* inversion of the creature over the Creator led to a preoccupation with death rather than life. Not considering how to live for the glory of God, the *bushi's* great concern was how to die for the glory of his master. The *Hagakure Bushi* declared,

Bushido, the way of the warrior, means death. Where there are two ways to choose, let thy choice be the one that leadeth to death. Reason not; set thy mind on the way thou chooseth and push on... Every morning make up thy mind how to die. Every evening freshen thy mind in the thought of death. And let this be done without end.¹⁵

The Confucian principle of vengeance that a man "must be determined not to live with the slayer (or a parent) under the same heaven"¹⁶ became a tragic chain-of-murder,

with the avenger seeking to kill not just the murderer but his kindred as well lest one of them should dedicate his life to slaying him. Yet of this vendetta system Nitobe has written this: "In Judaism, which believed in a jealous God, or in Greek mythology, which provided a Nemesis, vengeance may be left to superhuman agencies; but common sense furnished *Bushido* with the institution of redress as a kind of court of equity."¹⁷ How did the "common sense" way work out? One scholar has written, "The Way of the Warrior truly leads through centuries of bloodstained pages, but where in all that history do we find a single example of that Jesus-like love that requites evil with good and offers prayers on behalf of the enemy and persecutor? The lurking revenge of the forty-seven *Ronin* is typical of *Bushido*, not the spirit that evinces resentment against one."¹⁸ *Bushido's* failure to leave vengeance in the hands of God, that is, to work out an objective system of equitable retribution (Rom. 13: 4), caused a history bathed in rivers of blood.

A "Shame Culture"

When the *summum bonum* is conceived of as rendering one's duty to his human master according to the dictates of a man-made standard, it results in a "shame culture" in which the primary concern is to avoid bringing disgrace to one's name in the eyes of men. But the opinions of men fluctuate. The forty-seven *ronin*, for instance, waited a year after their vendetta to see what the *shogun* would decree as to their fate while he awaited the opinion of influential counselors who debated the question.¹⁹ It is the rejection of the sense of guilt towards God, stemming from the suppression of God-consciousness (Rom. 1: 18-20) and of moral-consciousness (Rom 1: 32 and 2: 14, 15), both of which are irrevocably stamped on every heart as part of the image of God, which leads to the yielding to fear of shame as the primary motivation. The motivation which is centered in "Don't, because you will be laughed at; it will disgrace you"²⁰ rather than "Don't, because it displeases God," is tragically centered and brings woeful consequences. Suicide, as a means of escaping that shame, rather than repentance and restitution, was a natural result. An egoistic outlook was another inevitable outcome and, it is the testimony of Arimichi Ebisawa, Nitobe's idealistic view of *Bushido* notwithstanding, that such was common. He wrote, "During the long period dating from the establishment of the Tokugawa regime, the common and universal notions prevalent among the *samurai* classes were utilitarian and egoistic."²¹

Can It Be Done?

What then shall we say about the dream of grafting Christianity on to *Bushido* or of fanning the *samurai* morality into a Christian flame? Basically, it was founded on erroneous presuppositions concerning *man* (substituting that idea of natural goodness for man's total depravity) and of *revelation* (confusing general and special revelation). Nitobe had said, "I believe in the religion taught by Him (Christ) and handed down to us in the New Testament, as well as in the law written in the heart. Further, I believe God hath made a testament which may be called 'old' with every people and nation, Gentile or Jew,

Christian or Heathen.”²² Danjo Ebina, early Congregational leader whom Akira Ebisawa praises in a tract for pioneering in the effort to blend “the good points” of Eastern religions with “the weakness” of Christianity,²³ has written:

Though the encouragement of ancestor worship cannot be regarded as part of the essential teaching of Christianity (!), it (Christianity) is not opposed to the notion that, when the Japanese Empire was founded, its earlier rulers were in communication with the Great Spirit that rules the universe; Christians, according to this theory, without doing violence to their creed, may acknowledge that the Japanese nation has a divine origin.²⁴

This equating of the Old Testament (special revelation) with the “testament” (general revelation) of “the living God who made heaven and earth....who in times past...left not himself without witness, in that he did good, and gave us rain from heaven, and fruitful seasons,”²⁵ and also the idea of God’s “communication” with Japan’s early rulers, represents a failure to distinguish between the special revelation of God’s infallibly inspired Scriptures and the general revelation of the witness He has given to Himself in nature, history and in the heart of man. Because of the sinful condition of fallen man the latter witness is suppressed and distorted by him, and the creature is substituted for the Creator. By God’s “common grace”, given to all men in general, however men are restrained from fulfilling the potential of their sinful hearts, kept from intellectual and moral destruction, and enabled to perform acts of “civic righteousness.” Human systems of morality, such as *Bushido*, are the product of these intermingled factors, some rising much higher than others. But in none of them is there a divine seed of life, and none of them can implant one. Common grace does not bring life. Special grace, the regenerating power of the Holy Spirit working by and with special revelation (the Word) alone can impart that new life principle. *Bushido*, without special revelation or special grace, lacks the life-giving power.

A dead ember cannot be fanned into a flame. A living scion cannot be grafted on to a dead stalk. God must bring the spiritually dead to regenerate life and this He does for rational men only through His Spirit and His Word. “Being born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the Word of God” (I Peter 1:23) and “born again....of the Spirit” (John 3:3,5), is the Scripture’s presentation. Men do not come to Christ until they are persuaded they need Him. Thus the ideology of *Bushido* does not furnish us with fertile soil for the seed of the Gospel for it does not provide men with a realization of their inadequacies but, on the contrary, fosters their worldly “self-respect” (pride?) and self-confidence. The failure to realize this in many cases brought these unregenerate concepts right into the Church in its early formative years through “*samurai* sons” with unchanged outlooks, with sad consequences.

The Summum Bonum

Missionary Erskine has written, “The best teaching of *Yamato Damashii* is the willingness to lose one’s self in a cause bigger than self. Christianity is losing one’s self in unselfish service for humanity. The difference is, then, only one of degree and not of purpose.”²⁶ The error here is great. It typifies the kind of thinking evangelicals hold liberals

accountable for bringing to Japan and by it causing great injury to the Christian commitment here. The purpose of Christianity is to deliver men *from* the penalty and power of sin *to* a transformed life where men find their happiness in doing the revealed will of God. *Bushido*, on the other hand, presents man's highest purpose as the service of his ruler, by which he pleases the deities, the spirits of his ancestors (in Shintoism) or receives a higher rebirth (in Buddhism). To the Christian, man's *summum bonum* is not the service of society (which would make his a utilitarian religion) but the glory of God. Thus he insists on the necessity of the rebirth to live a transformed life which can love and serve God, and the love and service of men as a necessary manifestation of God's implanted love. The difference is not of degree but of substance; of whether one's purpose is to live on an unregenerate, man-centered basis or on a regenerate, God-centered one. Difference here causes evangelicals to separate from liberals.

God has revealed Himself to men. He cannot therefore be rejected with impunity. the results of doing so are devastating for man both in time and eternity. When man's Godward relations are not established on a love for the holy and just God (his Creator) his manward relations cannot rest on a love for his fellow men indiscriminately. This is amply attested both in the general revelation of Japan's history and in the special revelation of God's Word.

Can Bushido Be Used by the Preacher?

Of what use, then, can we make of our *Bushido* lore in the presentation of the Gospel? The message of the Majesty on High must be brought to men in terms they can understand, but this is just the reason He has given men His revealed word in the context of 1600 years of unfolding history. Incidents of *samurai* history and fragments of truth scraped from the *Bushido* ideology, like grains culled from mountains of husks, may be used, as Paul used such fragments in his address to the Athenian intellectuals, if the greatest caution is exercised not to seal the heavenly message with pagan connotations which may be inevitably attached. It must be remembered that it is not our illustrations but the Word of God which "is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two edged sword." (Heb. 4:12)

As we face a new century of Protestant effort, let us then beware of trying to draw from the empty cisterns of pagan ideology but draw rather from the living waters of the Word of God as we seek to bring life to dying men. Let us stand with those who follow the injunction of Paul, and the emphasis of the Reformers, to "Preach the Word," even the Holy Scriptures which alone are able to make men wise unto salvation. (II Tim.4:2; 3:15)

Bushido as A Useable Old Testament

ROBERT McWILLIAMS

Re-reading *Bushido*¹ by Dr. Inazo Nitobe has been a fascinating experience. It is a trying experience as well. While not a "new" book, yet the challenge which it offers to

Christians, both Japanese and foreign, in the Japan of our day is as fresh as ever. Dr. Nitobe is not only a genuine scholar but a dedicated Christian. (I find the thought of a Quaker *samurai* to be most entrancing—and here he is, a member of the Society of Friends and a born and convinced *samurai*!)

“No religion can provide effective salvation for its people except against its own historic, cultural, and religious background.”² If we can actually open our eyes to the truth which God has given us, no matter where we may find it, we’ll be greatly enriched as we discover that “there is no need for monotony in the storehouse of God. There can be Hindu Christianity, Christianity, American Christianity. And each can use its own religious background to enrich its understanding of Christ...Our best thinkers should have years to master some religion until it became to them a useable Old Testament.”³ Dr. Nitobe has done this for us in regard to *Bushido*, the ethic of the Japanese *samurai*. He is a *samurai* in the same sense as Paul was a Jew—by birth and training. He is a Christian in the same sense as Paul was a Christian—by conviction, conversion and life. In accepting the Gospel of Christ he finds the fulfillment of his former self. As Christianity, for Paul, fulfilled the Law and the Prophets; as Christ, for the writer of the Fourth Gospel, fulfilled the *Logos* philosophy of Greece, so Christianity, for Dr. Nitobe, fulfills and gives a new foundation, a new dimension, and a new goal to the spirit of *Bushido*. “I believe that God hath made a testament which may be called ‘old’ with every people and nation,—Gentile or Jew, Christian or Heathen.”⁴ Dr. Nitobe’s then, is a sympathetic presentation of the old testament given particularly to the Japanese people to be fulfilled by the New Testament of God’s Love for all men. Of course, this kind of an old testament is not easily accepted by many who would believe that “God stopped thinking when he sent His Book to press.” If it is far easier to recognize, in retrospect, the changes that were demanded of Jewish converts to Christianity, than it is to apply that same Gospel to a living non-Christian culture and make its great values come aglow with the new vitality under the touch of that news of God’s love. I can but invite the reader to share, for a time, the principle that “all things cultural, intellectual, moral, and spiritual which are consistent with a God-centered, sacrificial, creative good will as first fully revealed and made effective in Jesus Christ may be freely admitted into Christian religion...and all that is inconsistent (with this) must be done away.”⁵

Bushido had many sources. From Buddhism it gained a calm trust in Fate, the goal of being in harmony with the Absolute, a composure in sight of danger or calamity, disdain of life and friendliness with death. To this Christianity offers a higher Absolute, the God of Love, faith and trust in Whom lives the same virtues, but which replaces disdain of life with thanksgiving for this great gift and the fulfillment of the gift in dedication of it to the Giver. Shintoism gave it the love of country, patriotism and loyalty which may be fulfilled in Christian thanksgiving to God who has spoken to us of our various heritages to bring us a community in which we can work to do His will—a community which demands, in our day, nothing less than the ends of the earth as its boundaries. Confucius gave the great five moral relations which are fulfilled in Christianity on the groundwork

of Love. And Mencius contributed his teaching of the power of Love, although this teaching lacked the groundwork of the personality of God.

Dr. Nitobe has been guilty, on occasion, in this book, of comparing the highest ideals of *Bushido* with run-of-the-Christian practice, a criticism which backfires on many Christian "evangelists" who commit the same sin in the opposite direction. The only valid comparison between religions or systems of ethics is surely the comparison of the highest ideals of each, built upon its own inherent basic world-concept, for these are what determine its claim to loyalty. Let us then see what some of these essential principles of *Bushido* are and their validity to Japanese Christianity.

Honor and Loyalty were the two great qualities symbolized by the Sword—"the soul of the *samurai*." Honor was, basically, to have a good name, and any infringement upon its integrity was felt as shame. "The fear of disgrace was so great that it 'hung like a Damocles' sword' over the head of every *samurai* and often assumed a morbid character. In the name of Honor, deeds were perpetrated which can find no justification in the code of *Bushido*."⁶ Christianity offers a basic solution to this problem of "false honor" in man's position in the relation of loyalty to our Absolute.

Loyalty, the homage and fealty to a superior, was basic to being a *samurai* and in a conflict between duty and affection *Bushido* never wavered in its choice of Loyalty. This conflict was the theme of most of the great pieces of Japanese literature. "When a subject differed from his master, the loyal path for him to pursue was to use every available means to persuade him of his error...Failing in this,...it was quite a usual course for the *samurai* to make the last appeal to the intelligence and conscience of his lord by demonstrating the sincerity of his words with the shedding of his own blood."⁷

Dr. Nitobe points out the deep truth that it is possible to be true to both God and Caesar through faithful adherence to the Will of God while accepting, without seeking escape, the decree of the state, even if, as with Socrates, that should mean death.

Politeness and Self-Control, which were closely allied to the concept of Courage, were fundamental to *Bushido* and still for the basic outward symptoms of Japanese character. Perhaps this is the field in which the failure of the Christian Church to adopt and remould the culture of Japan and make it her own has most sadly frustrated the advancement of the Gospel of Christ. Politeness is the art of setting the other person completely at ease. "It also implies a due regard for the fitness of things, therefore due respect of social positions; for these latter express no plutocratic distinctions, but were originally distinctions for actual merit."⁸ "If there is anything to do, there is certainly a best way to do it, and the best way is both the most economical and the most graceful."⁹

What a difference there is between the beauty and impressiveness of the tea ceremony, and such important things of entry, receiving of offerings, and the administration of the Sacraments of the Lord's Supper and Baptism! We need deep self-examination on this score because it seems to me that Christian leadership has deliberately turned its back on the contributions which Japanese culture has had to offer in this regard, too often without having anything but the western camp-meeting customs, understandably repugnant to a

people of refinement, to put in its place. Dr. Nitobe says, "It is the same discipline of self-restraint which is accountable for the absence of more frequent revivals in the Christian churches of Japan. When a man or woman feels his or her soul stirred, the first instinct is to quietly suppress the manifestation of it. . . . It is truly jarring to Japanese ears to hear the most sacred words, the most secret heart experiences, thrown out in promiscuous audiences."¹⁰

Other products of the artistic temperament of the Japanese people, music, poetry and art, are justly gaining recognition as the masterpieces that they are. "What Christianity has done in Europe toward rousing compassion in the midst of belligerent horrors, love of music and letters has done in Japan."¹¹ In the fields of hymnody and art we need not be ashamed of the progress that has been made. But here mostly we have been able to replace the old with a basically new form. It is in the field of letters that we sense a greater lack. Dr. Nitobe points out that *Bushido* was responsible for the lack of original thinking in the philosophical field. This has made it necessary for Christian sermons to draw from abroad for most of their philosophical illustrations. However, it would seem that they have missed, too often, the golden content of the Japanese native poetry when illustrating beauty and lofty emotion. Christianity, to be challenging, must be tied in with the universal need of man, and Japanese sentiment is not out of place in this universal need.

Bushdo paid full homage to the place of Benevolence and Sympathy. That this was grounded on concepts not inferior to the Old Testament is readily visible when when Saigo says, "Thy Way is the way of Heaven and Earth: Man's place is to follow it: therefore make it the object of thy life to reverence Heaven. Heaven loves me and others with equal love; therefore with the love wherewith thou lovest thyself, love others. Make not man thy partner but Heaven, and making Heaven thy partner do thy best. Never condemn others; but see to it that thou comest not short of thine own mark."¹²

The position accorded the Teacher, as the one who brought the child to manhood, places a tremendous responsibility on the Christian Pastor who must be chosen and trained to adequately fulfill this function.

"The transformation of Japan is a fact patent to the whole world. . . . The sense of honor which cannot bear being looked down upon as an inferior power,—that was the strongest of motives."¹³ This same sense of Honor has kept the people from accepting a religion which as regrettably had a close-to-insulting attitude, *in its presentation*, towards the great social treasures of Japan. The challenge is best offered in the author's own words:

Ignoring the past career of a people, missionaries claim that Christianity is a new religion, whereas, to my mind, it is an old, old story, which, if presented in intelligible words,—in the vocabulary familiar in the moral development of a people—will find easy lodgment in their hearts, irrespective of race or nationality. . . . Should the propagator of the new faith uproot the entire stock, root and branches, and plant the seeds of the Gospel on the ravaged soil? . . . Such a process is most decidedly impossible in Japan—nay, it is a process which Jesus himself would never have adopted in founding his kingdom on earth.¹⁴

NOTES

Bushido Embers into a Christian Flame?

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6. Bunce, Wm. L., *Religions in Japan*, 1955, p. 90.
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14. *Ibid*, p. 643.
15. Iwado, *op. cit.*, p. 38.
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21. Ebisawa, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
22. Nitobe, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
23. Ebisawa, Akira, NCC tract on "*Ebina, Danjo*", quoted from "*Are the NCC Evangelism Tracts Trustworthy?*" by Mitsuzo Goto, *The Bible Times*, Vol. VII, No. 2, 1957, p. 9.
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25. Acts 14: 15-17.
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Bushido as a Useable Old Testament

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2. Nels F. S. Ferre, *The Christian Faith*, Harper, 1942, p. 49.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 4, 5.
4. Nitobe, *op. cit.*, p. vii.
5. Ferre, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-8, 15.
6. Nitobe, p. 46.
7. p. 60.
8. p. 29.
9. p. 31.
10. pp. 69-70.
11. p. 28.
12. p. 49.
13. p. 117.
14. p. 121.

Here is the third installment of an effort to outline in a brief and yet informative and valuable form the major events of the past one-hundred years of Japanese Protestant development.

Japan's Protestant Century

III

The Later Meiji Period—1887-1912

1887—The Japan Episcopal Church is organized.

Juji Ishii establishes Okayama Orphanage.

Kazutaka Ito organizes the Hokkaido Temperance Society.

Moseley teaches at Wakayama Junior High School.

Ichibancho and Shimamura churches are organized.

Shizuoka Girls' School, Hokusei Girls' School, Koran Girls' School and Ooe Higher Girls' School begun.

Teikichi Kawabe, Umenosuke Bessho, Ryosen Tsunashima and Utako Hayashi are baptized.

Knapp, Schneder, Moseley and Schmiedel come to Japan.

Eby writes *Christian Power over Society and Politics*.

1888—Taneaki Hara became a preacher among prisons.

Gyoseien of Sadajiro Hongo is established.

Isezaki Church is organized.

Friend Girls' School, Kyoai Girls' School and Shinkyo Seminary begun.

Gumpei Yamamuro, Tsuyoshi Imada, Toson Shimazaki, Moto Akazawa, Tatsuo Kugimiya, Keiji Ashida, Yukako Noguchi and Tomijiro Kobayashi are baptized.

Wainright and Denton come to Japan.

Old Testament translation appears.

Tetsu Miura writes *Story of a Fisherman*.

Naomi Tamura writes *The Reason Why We Believe in the True God*.

1889—The First Summer School is held at Doshisha.

Kansai Gakuin, Kinjo Girls' School and Yamanashi Eiwa Girls' School begun.

Y. Sakin, Sentaro Naniwa are baptized and Paul Sawayama dies.

Hannah and Perin come to Japan.

C. M. Williams writes *Questions and Answers on Church History*.

Hiromichi Kozaki writes *Christianity and the Nation*.

1890—The name of Itchi Church is changed to *Nihon Kirisuto Kyokai*.

The Union plan of Presbyterian and Congregational churches fails.

The Second Summer School is held at Meiji Gakuin.

Katsunosuke Kobayashi establishes Hakuai Sha.

Takashi Yano establishes Kobe Orphanage.

Poole Girls' School begun.

Shinsui Kawai and Tsurukichi Hatano are baptized.

Jo Niijima and Keiu Nakamura die.

Naomi Tamura writes *Bible Dictionary* and *The Reason Why We Believe in the Immortal Soul*.

1891—Anti-prostitution movement in Gumma prefecture.

The Kanzo Uchimura "incident"

Tsurin Kanamori writes *Liberal Theology*.

Tokumaro Tominaga, Doppo Kunikida and Hajime Watanabe are baptized.

Adams comes to Japan.

Gokyo (Methodist magazine) is published.

Tsurin Kanamori writes *Present Christianity in Japan and Christianity in the Future*.

Kirisuto Kyo Shinron is published.

1892—Dr. and Mrs. Hepburn leave for America.

Naomi Tamura's book *Japanese Bride*.

Batchelor establishes hospital for Ainu.

Toson Shimazaki becomes a teacher of Meiji Girls' School.

Shokei Girls' School and Shoin Girls' School begun.

Perry and Bats come to Japan.

Yokoi and Harada write *Japanese Morals and Christianity*.

1893—A clash between education and religion occurs.

Kanzo Uchimura enters the literary profession.

The name of Tokyo Temperance Union is changed to Japan Women's Temperance Union.

Saga Juji Church is organized.

Hinomoto Girls' School and Hiroshima Girls' School begun.

Kanzo Uchimura writes *Consolation of the Believer*.

Tokoku Kitamura edits *Bungaku-kai* (Literary Journal)

1894—Tokyo YMCA building is completed.

Congregational Church separates from American Board of Commissioners.

Shizuoka Methodist Protestant Church is organized.

Tokoku Kitamura dies.

Tokio Yokoi writes *Problems of Christianity of Japan*.

Dr. Learned writes *History of the Christian Church*.

Kanzo Uchimura writes *Representative Japanese*.

1895—The Salvation Army starts its mission.

Loomis sends 200,000 Bibles to soldiers in the battle field.

Miss Riddell establishes *Kaishunin* (a Leprosarium) at Kumamoto.

Yokohama Dai Ni Mifu Church is organized.

Batchelor edits *Hymnal for Ainu*.

Kanzo Uchimura writes *How I Became a Christian*.

1896—John R. Mott comes to Japan. The first Religious discussion is held.

Nagoya Mifu and Honjo Dobo churches are organized.

Shizuko Wakamatsu dies.

Bennett edits *Christian Hymn Book*.

1897—Sen Katayama establishes Kingsley Hall.

Japan students' *YMCA Domei* is established.

Taneaki Hara establishes the "after care" institute for released prisoners.

Kanzo Uchimura works at *Mancho Sha*.

Sapporo YMCA is organized.

Shirosuke Arima, Shumpei Honma and Hakucho Masamune are baptized.

Kanzo Uchimura writes *The Greatest Heritage of Future Generations*.

Sen Katayama writes *Life of La Salle, Friend of Labourers*.

1898—A group study of socialism is established.

The Japan Temperance Union is established.

Kanzo Uchimura leaves *Mancho Sha*.

Yokohama Third Methodist Protestant Church is organized.

Sakusaburo Uchida and Sakuzo Yoshino are baptized.

Capt. Luke Bickel comes to Japan.

Goble and Verbeck die.

Tomeoka starts his home of correction.

The Ministry of Education prohibits religious services in junior high schools.

Wilmina Girls' School begun.

Hajime Oonishi and Sadajiro Hongo die.

Gumpei Yamamuro writes *The Gospel for Common People*.

1900—Yukako Noguchi establishes Futaba Nursery.

Murphy starts The Twentieth Century Movement.

The Old Ladies Home of Salvation Army is established.

Tsuda English College begun.

Tetsu Yasui is baptized.

The Shinjin and *The Bible Study* are published.

Roka Tokutomi writes, *Record of My Memory*.

Dr. Teusler founds St. Luke's Hospital.

1901—The evangelical movement of the twentieth century is started.

Social Democratic Party is organized.

The theological arguments between Ebina and Uemura begun.

Kanzo Uchimura starts his Bible class.

Nihon YMCA City Union is organized.

Ichirosuke Aihara is baptized.

Dr. William Axling comes to Japan.

- Kanzo Uchimura writes *Non-Church*, and edits *Hymns for Sunday School*.
- 1902—The definition of evangelism is discussed.
 Nagoya YMCA is organized.
Lambeth Girls' School begun.
 Motojiro Sugiyama is baptized.
 Danjo Ebina writes *The New Life of the Empire*.
- 1903—Nihon YMCA Union is organized.
 Kanzo Uchimura supports pacifism.
 Kyoto YMCA is established.
 Toyohiko Kagawa is baptized.
 Kenkichi Kataoka and Tsuneyoshi Tokugawa die.
The Hymn Book (common to all denominations) is agreed upon.
 Masahisa Uemura writes *Crisis of the Soul*.
- 1904—The meeting of Religious League is held during the war time.
 Momoyama Junior High School and Tokyo *Shingakusha* (Theological Seminary) begun.
 Naoe Kinoshita writes *Confession of a Husband*.
- 1905—Waka Ninomiya establishes Aizawa Nursery.
 Hepburn receives a medal of honour from the Japanese Government.
 Sendai and Nagasaki YMCA are organized.
 Tokyo Gakuin and Joshi Seigakuin begun.
 Tadaoki Yamamoto is baptized.
 Vories comes to Japan.
 Naoe Kinoshita writes *The Pillar of Fire*.
 The *Shinkigen* is published.
- 1906—Japan Sunday School Association is established.
 Congregational Church starts a concentrated mission all over Japan.
 Seigakuin Junior High School and Nagoya Junior High School begun.
 Tokutaro Takakura is baptized.
 Dozier comes to Japan.
 Aizan Yamaji writes *The Criticism of Christianity*.
- 1907—The Japan Methodist Church is organized.
 General Booth of the Salvation Army comes to Japan, and is received by the Emperor.
 Christian Youth Fellowship meeting of all nations is held at Tokyo.
 Seiichi Hatano lectures on Early Christianity at Tokyo University.
 Komagome *Kirisuto Kai* is organized.
 Shigehito Sato and Takeyoshi Ishikawa are baptized.
 Miller comes to Japan.
 Ryosen Tsunashima writes *Kaikoroku*.
- 1908—The Anti-Prostitution League is organized.
 The Second Sunday School Convention is held at Sukiyabashi Church in Tokyo.

Sen Tsuda and Doppo Kunikida die.

Seiichi Hatano writes *The Origin of Christianity*.

1909—Kyoichi Ishii established Takinogawa Gakuen.

The fiftieth Anniversary of Christianity in Japan is celebrated.

Toyohiko Kagawa begins his evangelical work.

Yoichi Honda attends the Sixth World Sunday School Convention in Washington.

Meiji Girls' School is closed.

Tokumaro Tominaga writes *The New Understanding of Christianity*.

1910—Revision of the New Testament translation is begun.

The union of all churches is seriously considered.

Honda and Ibuka attend The World Christian Missionary Conference in Edinburgh.

Kyushu Gakuin begun.

Death of Masatsuna Okuno, Davis and Janes.

1911—*Nihon Kirisuto Kyokai* Domei is organized.

Hakuukai under the leadership of Kanzo Uchimura is started.

Hepburn and Deforest die.

Sentaro Takagi compiled *Dictionary of Christianity*.

Central Theological College started.

1912—The unifying plan of the three religions (Buddhism, Shintoism and Christianity) is proposed by the Prime Minister.

Bunji Suzuki organizes *The Yuaikai*.

Yoshiyasu Ogawa and Yoichi Honda die.

A Tribute

The following is a tribute from the late Dr. James H. Ballagh to Masatsuna Okuno:

"Okuno's character resembled that of Peter. Bold and courageous and ready to fight if occasion required, he was always humble and ready to confess his faults. Though first and foremost among the preachers of the early Church, he never sought a place of leadership nor honour as a minister of the Gospel. He was content to be found faithful and sought first and foremost in the preaching of the Gospel and in the study of the Scriptures for translation to become a scribe well instructed in the things of the Kingdom. His large knowledge of men and varied experiences enabled him to apply the Sword of the Spirit with great effect upon the consciences of men. His good voice, his plain Japanese speech, his written and careful preparations, and earnest delivery made him easily the prince of Japanese preachers, and well entitled to the appellation, 'Old Man Eloquent.' His relations with many early missionaries were of the most cordial and intimate nature. Beloved and trusted by all, and closely associated with Brown, Hepburn, and Verbeck in Bible translation, and with others in hymnology in which he was the leading spirit, an Asaph among his brethren; a friend and patron of publishers and of the Sunday School and Temperance Associations by his numerous poetical effusions, his place will be hard to fill. His numerous pastoral relations with different congregations and several nationwide evangelistic tours are characteristic of his efforts. In view of his being among the first to be called to herald the Gospel, and in his devotion and fitness for the same, who can doubt that the same Lord who made the choice of Peter and Paul to be His witnesses to the Gentiles did equally make choice of Okuno and others for the planting of the Gospel in Japan."

See the biography of Okuno on page 219 and following.

Here is a fitting summary of much that has been written in the last three issues of JCQ—a survey of the character of Japanese Protestantism by an outstanding Japanese Christian leader who is both an active pastor and theological professor.

The Character of the Protestant Church in Japan

SHIRO MURATA*

This article will seek to deal with the distinctive character of Japanese Protestantism, but it is obvious from the start that it is possible to approach the question from various aspects. One may refer to the ecclesiastical structure or the confessional character of the Church, or, again, to its social standing or a sociological study of its membership; or the historical development may be the focal point of interest. What I propose to do is to concentrate on the ecclesiastical structure and confessional formulae, and, from that starting-point, to ascertain the sociological significance of the church, and its general impact on Japanese life and thought. I do not feel it necessary to dwell upon the cultural background or the social stratum into which Christianity penetrated at the beginning of the missionary movement, as there is so much that has been written on the subject, and much of it belongs to general cultural history. In so far as Japanese Christianity is inevitably linked up with Japan itself, it is, of course, impossible to avoid cultural and sociological questions, but it will be my primary purpose to enquire what Japanese Protestants believed and the kind of life this faith evoked. As it is somewhat difficult to cover one hundred years in a limited article, I propose to treat of the early period in greater detail, and give but a rough sketch of later developments.

The Original Currents of Japanese Protestantism

People's opinions may differ as to which were the original currents within Japanese Protestantism, but most would agree that it was not possible to overlook the three main streams—the Japan United Church of Christ, started in Yokohama, the Kumamoto Band, originating in Kumamoto, but fostered in Doshisha University after its foundation by Jo Nijima, and the Independent Church, begun under the influence of Dr. W. S. Clark at the Sapporo Agricultural College, and later developed by Kanzo Uchimura and his followers in the subsequent *Mukyokai* (Non-Church) movement. An examination of these three movements will, I think, provide the key to the general nature of Japanese Protestantism.

The severe persecution of Roman Catholic Christians during the period of the Tokugawa Shogunate had meant that only secret vestiges of the faith survived—mainly in the remoter regions of Nagasaki Prefecture and on Goshima, islands off the Kyushu coast.

* Translated by Dr. Ukichi Kawaguchi and adapted for *JCQ* by Rev. Raymond Hammer.

But the Protestant churches of the West—and especially in the United States—had a deep concern for the spread of the Gospel to Japan, and had been praying that the way might be opened there. In July 1843 the steamship *Morrison* (itself named after the pioneer missionary to China) approached Japanese waters, but, as it approached Edo, it was fired upon and had to retreat to Amoy. Aboard were some of the first translators of the Bible into Japanese, Karl Gutzlaff, S. Wells Williams and others. In 1845, Dr. Bettelheim began work in the Loochoo Islands, with Japan as his ultimate goal. Commodore Perry's forcible termination of Japanese isolationism in 1853 was the first step towards a missionary entry, and the Japanese-American Commercial Treaty, concluded between the American Consul-General, Townsend Harris (a devout Episcopalian), and the Tokugawa Government, whilst it did not assure freedom of belief, the Japanese at least granted the foreigner freedom to worship as a Christian in Japan. At the same time, the enforced use of *fumie* (a pictorial portrayal of the cross, upon which Japanese were forced to trample to prove that they were not Christians) was discontinued, and the notice-boards prohibiting Christianity were gradually removed. It was only natural that the changing circumstances should encourage various mission boards to send missionaries to Japan. May I pay particular attention to J. C. Hepburn of the Presbyterian Church, and S. R. Brown and G. Verbeck of the Reformed Church in the United States? They made Yokohama and Tokyo their main centers, establishing churches and Christian schools. Partly out of their work emerged the Yokohama Church of Christ, and the character of that church is significant for our study.*

The Church of Christ in Yokohama

This church had its genesis in a famous Prayer Meeting which began on January 2, 1872. At that time, the sons of *Samurai* families were anxious to acquire the new western teaching, and a group received instruction from S. R. Brown, J. C. Hepburn and James Ballagh. Following the lead set by missionaries and foreign Christian residents in Yokohama, who had participated in a New Year series of Prayer Meetings under the auspices of the International Evangelical League, a small group of Japanese, mainly attendants of James Ballagh's school, arranged their own Prayer Meeting. Instead of simply a week of gatherings, the meetings continued, and something of the nature of a revival took place. These meetings led to the establishment of the first Protestant Church in Japan—on March 10, 1872 (or February 2nd, according to the old lunar calendar), and the series of Prayer Meetings continued till the summer. Of the group only two (Yoshiki Ogawa and Morizo Nimura) had been baptized previously, but a further nine were baptized in February, so that the newly-constituted church listed eleven members—with Ogawa as the first deacon. James Ballagh was asked to serve as the pastor of the Church. The place where the prayer meetings were held was named "The Holy Dog-kennel"—and this became the old stone building of the Yokohama Kaigan (i. e. 'sea-shore') Church.

* See the January 1959 issue of JCQ.

The influence of the Presbyterian and Reformed missionaries was seen in the ecclesiastical polity of the newly-established church, but it was actually established as an independent, self-supporting church, and sought not to belong to any one denomination. The following points may be emphasized concerning this first Japanese Protestant Church:

1. There was the expressed intention to establish only one church of Christ, uncontrolled by any of the western denominations. This "undenominationalism" is a special characteristic of early Japanese Protestantism, even though the churches quickly developed according to regular denominational patterns.
2. The ideal of self-support was set from the start. It is possible to attribute this desire to be independent of missionary aid to an inherent Japanese desire for independence, as the pattern of development is so different from that in other Asiatic countries.
3. The early members of the church belonged to the *samurai* class, which meant that they belonged to the intelligentsia—men nurtured in Confucian ethics, which laid stress upon spiritual pride and moral uprightness. Their background marked them out as men apart—and so was a hindrance to the spread of Christianity among the people at large. On the other hand, their mental alertness argued well for theological interest, and it is perhaps to the social-cultural background of these early Christians that we must attribute the fact that the Japanese churches show more adeptness for theological study and debate than those in other Asian countries.

The Early Protestant Confession of Faith

Two confessions of faith emerged from the Yokohama church—one which was decided upon at the time of the church's establishment in 1872, and a revised form belonging to the year 1874. It is not clear what profession of faith Yoshiki Ogawa had made at his baptism, but it may be surmised that he had used the form belonging to the Reformed Church in the United States, as James Ballagh was a member of that church. The fact that the Reformed Church looked to the Heidelberg Confession of Faith and Catechism and the Presbyterian Church to the Westminster Confession suggests that the early catechumens were put through some serious doctrinal training. In comparing the 1872 and 1874 Confessions of Faith, it is noticeable that the later one shows far more consciousness of the church's constitution as a church, and particularly of the fact that it is a Japanese church. The Articles of the 1872 Confession are as follows:

1. The Bible is the Revelation of the Divine Spirit and is the norm of faith and conduct.
2. We believe in One God the Father Almighty, Creator of heaven and earth and all things therein.
3. We believe in Jesus Christ, the Only-Begotten Son of God with two natures, deity and humanity, Who took flesh and became incarnate to be our Only Savior.
4. We believe in the Holy Spirit Who proceedeth from the Father and the Son, and Who cleanseth our hearts.
5. We believe that all those who sincerely believe in Jesus Christ constitute the One Church of Christ.

6. We believe that, through the sin of Adam, the original righteousness of the father of the race was lost.
7. We believe in the forgiveness of sins through the Atonement of Christ.
8. We believe in the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body.
9. We believe in the judgment by Christ, eternal bliss and everlasting punishment.
10. We forsake all the worship of idols and all carnal desires.
11. We shall not deny the Only Savior at the risk of our life.
12. We shall follow the guidance of ministers and elders, cultivate sincere fellowship with the brethren, spread the teaching of the Gospel, and shall reverently observe the Lord's Supper throughout life.
13. We shall teach others with quietness and diligence, respect rulers and superiors, be filial towards parents and observe public laws.
14. We shall in all things work industriously as in the sight of the true God, take care of the people in their suffering, and shall not bend ourselves to contrive at selfish gains.
15. We shall beseech the Lord Jesus to grant us His grace and mercy to protect and help our minds and hearts perfectly to carry out all these articles of our confession of faith.

An examination of these articles shows dependence upon the Bible as the standard of faith and conduct, and an acceptance of orthodox Trinitarian and Christological formulae—even though there is no explicit statement of the Doctrine of the Trinity. The Fall of the human race and its salvation through Christ's Atonement is asserted, and the eschatological belief in a final judgment and the resurrection of the body follow the steps of the traditional orthodox faith. What may be considered new elements in the confession are the practical injunctions in the later articles, stressing the believer's genuine faith and the ethical manifestations of that faith in home and society. The practical exhortations show how early Protestantism was conscious of its responsibility to witness to the Gospel in a non-Christian environment. The insistence on ethical fruits held within itself the danger of a narrow-minded legalism, which turns the Gospel into mere injunctions or prohibitions.

The confession of 1874 opens with the words—"The Church of Jesus Christ to be established in the Japanese nation shall believe the following articles:—"

1. The Bible teaches according to the Divine Spirit and has final authority, and contains what must be believed.
2. The teaching of the Bible is to be accepted and acted upon in accordance with individual judgment and decision.
3. God is One and Triune.
4. Through the original sin of the first parent the whole human race commits sin.
5. The Son of God took flesh and was born, made Atonement for the human race, becoming the Mediator, presenting believers before God and praying for them, and is united with the church as its head.
6. The sinner is saved and justified through faith alone.
7. The re-birth and sanctification of the sinner are accomplished by the power of the Holy Spirit.
8. The immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body are certain—together with the judgment of the world by our Lord Jesus Christ,

according eternal happiness to the just, and everlasting punishment to the wicked.

9. The ministers of Christ are appointed by God, and Baptism and the Lord's Supper are to be observed.

A summary reading of the articles indicates that the arrangement is better than that of the 1872 articles. They affirm that the Bible was written under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and that it is the authoritative standard of faith, but that it is to be understood on the basis of the believer's individual conscience. The orthodox faith in the Trinity, the Incarnation and Atonement is re-affirmed—with the confession of *sola fide* and the sanctifying work of the Spirit. A belief in the eschaton and the sacramental life of the church is stressed. It would appear that these articles were derived from the 9 articles of the World Evangelical Alliance—a movement that had started early in the nineteenth century, and which had sought to provide a common basis of belief upon which a number of different denominations might agree. The movement was primarily brought into being by the Bible Societies, which were themselves interdenominational organizations, but various Foreign Missions Boards in both America and Britain welcomed the new organization, which was launched in London in January, 1846, and spread quickly through the countries in Europe and America, and then reached out to India and Japan. Most of the regular Protestant denominations were represented in its membership, and it was the first organ for real interdenominational co-operation. The Alliance put out nine doctrinal clauses in 1846, and the clauses adopted by the Yokohama Church in 1874 are almost an exact translation of the original.

The link with the Evangelical Alliance would suggest that *the ideal of undenominationalism expressed in the formation of the Yokohama Church was not necessarily due to the desires of the Japanese members, but that the influence of the missionaries themselves is to be seen in the policy of the newly-formed church.* There was no attempt to solve the problems of denominationalism or serious endeavor to examine the basis of church unity. The adoption of undenominationalism was possible only because it was a new mission field. The creed it adopted was meant to be an epitome of orthodox Christianity. It may be posited that there was nothing distinctively Japanese at all, and the church showed a marked antagonism and contempt towards existing Japanese religions, and tended to present Christianity as a new law. In the light of the prevailing social and cultural background, to become a member of the church required a readiness for martyrdom—or, at the very least, a resolute determination and a readiness for a consistent Christian witness. The believers were so active in their fight against non-Christian elements in society as to be considered clannish, and they demonstrated a burning loyalty towards Christ. The old fighting spirit of the *samurai* re-asserted itself, and in that something distinctively Japanese can be seen. The establishment of the church in Yokohama was followed by a similar establishment in Tokyo, which considered itself a branch of the one united Church, and which adopted the same creed and the same form of church government.

Lest it be thought that all the missionaries favored undenominationalism, let it be said

that men like Hepburn strongly advocated the Presbyterian church principle, whilst missionaries of the American Congregational Church and churches that they had established in Kobe and Osaka refrained from joining with the churches in Yokohama and Tokyo, and organized their own Congregational Union. Similarly, a church started as a result of evangelism in Hirosaki by a missionary called Ing, soon became a Methodist church. Bit by bit the newly established churches drew upon the denominational heritage that the missionaries had brought with them.

The Protestant Movements in Sapporo and Kumamoto

The Christian movements started in Sapporo under the influence of Dr. Clark at the Sapporo Agricultural College and in Kumamoto under the influence of the "Kumamoto Band" differ from the church-centered movement in Yokohama, but must be considered, if we are to have a more comprehensive understanding of Japanese Protestantism. Dr. Clark formed "The Covenant of Believers in Jesus" in 1877, the basis of the organization being to believe in Christianity with love and joy by reason of the atoning death of Christ upon the Cross, to obey the commands of Christ, and to promise to respond to the spirit and letter of His teaching. The Covenant demanded high ethical living, but left the question of joining or not joining a church to the freedom of the individual. Dr. Clark himself was a layman, and was himself somewhat indifferent towards traditional concepts of the church. The nature of the Covenant was expressed in the following statements:

1. The Bible is the one direct revelation of God and inerrant perfect guide to the glorious life of the world to come.
2. One God is the Father, the Righteous Governor and the Final Judge.
3. By faith in the Son of God we obtain the forgiveness of sins, are guided by the Holy Spirit, protected through the Providence of the Heavenly Father, and enjoy the blessings of salvation; but those who reject the Son of God shall be lost.
4. The Covenant further states sundry commandments such as the command to love God, to reject idols, not to call the Holy Name of God in vain, respect for the Day of Rest, respect for parents and superiors, the command to refrain from adultery, murder, impurity, deceit, evil to neighbors, and the command to pray at all times.

As may be seen from these tenets, the group was bound together by a common faith with a common moral intent, but there is no understanding of the "Communion of Saints" with an external ecclesiastical organization. It was rather a religio-ethical movement with no intention of uniting with the historical world church. The key-note was the exhortation of the Covenanters in their goal of a pure, ethical life. From this group went out men like Masayuki Sato, Inazo Nitobe, Masayasu Oshima, Kingo Miyabe, and, most notably, Kanzo Uchimura—all men who were to make an impact on Japanese society. Uchimura (the founder of so-called "Non-Church Christianity") did not necessarily deny the church as such; he severely criticized its corruption and degeneration, and the non-church principle comes out in the denial of the historical church in its visible manifestation. The fact that the Covenant Group at Sapporo had no knowledge of or instruction in the real nature of the

church is not a little responsible for the subsequent development of Uchimura's movement. But much in his emphasis is essentially Japanese—particularly its strong individualism, exclusiveness and nationalism. It may be asserted that the lack of the generosity to forgive is part of the Japanese character, and this would at times appear to be mingled in with Christianity in Uchimura's approach. But *the stern, outspoken, authority-denouncing, prophetic voice of Kanzo Uchimura does seem to bespeak a Japanese Christianity which has freed itself from a slavish imitation of foreign patterns.*

The so-called "Kumamoto Band" had its beginning with the arrival of Captain Janes at the School of Western Learning established by Lord Hosokawa in Kumamoto.* Those who belonged to the Band later became leaders of the Japanese Congregational Church. It was Captain Janes' intention to pattern the Kumamoto School after that of the English Public School (such as Rugby School), and he taught the Bible as the basis of all the courses of study. From 1875 on, many of his students turned to Christianity, and Janes, although only a layman, baptized them and also celebrated the Lord's Supper. He seems to have been totally indifferent to church order, and did not turn over the function of officiating at services, even when ministers came from Nagasaki. Under his influence such young men as Ebina, Kozaki, Kanamori, Yokoi, Miyagawa, Yamazaki, Ichihara and others decided to become Christian evangelists. In their Covenant we can note a burning desire to evangelize Japan, and an urgent warning against apostasy. But it lacks a real confession of faith, and is lacking in its understanding of the church. It was a very rudimentary document. Many of this Kumamoto group later left Christianity, and their defection is evidence that they had not as yet fully grasped the truths of the faith of the Gospel. They were largely youths with a vision of the political and moral stability of the country, and the new teaching of Christianity seemed best to subserve that end. The defect of the work of the Band lay in treating Christianity as a means rather than an end. It was in the main those who were later trained by Jo Nijima at Doshisha, who later became the leaders of strong Congregational churches. Many of them, however, were extremely liberal in their theological thinking and, their assertions being nationalistic, Confucian and moralistic, it was feared by many that they diverged from the orthodox line of Christianity and were superficial in their grasp of the fundamentals of the evangelical faith.

There remains, of course, the question concerning the impact of Japanese Protestantism upon Japanese culture in general, and a true assessment of the character of Protestantism must involve a consideration of it in context and not in vacuum, but a treatment of this matter must wait for a further article.*

(*Author's Note:* In this article acknowledgement must be made of use of Hideteru Yamamoto's, *The History of the Japanese Christian Church*, Masahisa Uyemura and His Time, edited by Wataru Saba, and Yasusada Hiyane's, *A History of Christianity in Japan*.)

* See the April, 1959, issue of *JCQ*

* See *JCQ* January 1959, pp. 48 ff. for a treatment of this subject by Dr. Zenda Watanabe.

The first Protestant missionary to arrive in Japan was an Episcopalian and any coverage of the history of Japanese Protestantism without inclusion of the account of the development of the Anglican communion would be incomplete. Here is such an account—brief but important!

The Place of the Anglican Episcopal Church in the Developing Church in Japan.

R. J. HAMMER

“Japan Missions” for spring 1959 quotes from a manuscript Catechism on the history of the *Nippon Sei Ko Kai* (literally translated Japan Holy Catholic Church—now the Japanese province of the Anglican Communion) in the handwriting of Bishop Channing Moore Williams, now in the possession of Doctor Kan, the Dean of the Arts College of St. Paul’s University, which runs as follows:—

Question: What is related by Doctor S. Wells Williams of a conversation between the Governor of Nagasaki and Doctor Williams (Secretary of the United States Legation in China), Doctor Syles (Sailors’ Chaplain at Shanghai), and Mr. Wood (Chaplain of the U.S.S. “Powhatan”) about 1857?

Answer: The Governor said that now Japan was open to trade and the Japanese would be glad of anything the foreigners might bring them except two things, *viz.* opium and Christianity.

Question: When these three gentlemen returned and talked over the matter what did they do?

Answer: They each wrote to the Mission Board in the United States of the Episcopal, Presbyterian and Reformed Churches urging them to send missionaries to Japan. The answer to these letters were the first missionaries.

Question: When did the first Protestant missionaries come to Japan?

Answer: The Rev. John Liggins who had been a missionary to China for three years was ordered to go to Japan and reached Nagasaki May 2nd, 1859.

Question: What did he do there and how long did he remain?

Answer: He prepared a useful phrase book in Japanese and English, distributed a number of Christian and medical books which had been prepared in China, but unfortunately on account of health returned to America on February 24th, 1860.

Question: What missionary from China followed Mr. Liggins?

Answer: The Rev. C.M. Williams joined him at Nagasaki in the end of June, 1859.

In this rather pedestrian fashion the future Bishop Williams describes the advent of the first Episcopalian missionaries. In actual fact Mr. Liggins had gone to Nagasaki for the sake of his health before he had actually heard of his appointment to the new Japan Mission. Some years earlier the Church Missionary Society in England had been interested in the extension of the Gospel beyond its newly established Mission in China and had looked to Japan. With Japan a closed country the first Church of England missionaries were sent to the Loochoo Islands. A converted Jew named Bettelheim stayed in the Islands for a few years and was visited by an English Bishop in 1850. On his retirement he was succeeded by G. H. Moreton who

continued with the support of independent missionary funds for some years. In 1861 the promoters of this particular Mission handed over the balance of their funds to the Church Missionary Society in the hope that the Society would one day use it in establishing a Japan Mission. During the American Civil War the Episcopalian Church in America appealed to the Church Missionary Society to support in the work in Japan that it had started, but it was in 1869 that the first English missionary was actually sent to Japan. In the meantime the Rev. C. M. Williams had been consecrated Bishop of China and Japan in 1866, and when he moved the center of his work from Nagasaki to Osaka in 1869 the English missionary Mr. Ensor was about to take over. In 1873 missionaries from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel were sent out to work in Tokyo in the light of the new legislation of 1872 which had removed the old law proscribing Christianity. The Anglican Episcopal work however was not co-ordinated until 1887 when the *Nippon Sei Ko Kai* was organized. This was largely due to the initiative and insight of Bishop Bickersteth who was the second English Bishop to be sent out. He arrived in Japan just the year previous to the first General Synod of the *Nippon Sei Ko Kai* which brought the Church into being. Like most of the early missionaries, Bishop Bickersteth had a fervid desire for the unity of the Christian movement in Japan, and it was for this reason that the title of the Church was chosen. It was decided that the *Nippon Sei Ko Kai* should not simply be one denomination but should be the national representative of the world-wide Catholic Church (not Roman Catholic). On the occasion of the Synod an appeal was sent out to all the other Protestant missionaries and the new converts of the other denominations, but by this time denominational barriers had already begun to harden and, in particular, the home Board in the United States did not countenance any such united church. Jo Niijima, the famous founder of Doshisha University, once asserted that had Bishop Bickersteth arrived ten years earlier in Japan it is possible that his version of a united church would have been actualized. As it is, whilst the *Nippon Sei Ko Kai* uses for the name of its church the same words that are used in the Creed, the Church has come to be simply the representative of the Anglican Communion in Japan; and whilst the Church claims to be a valid inheritor of the traditions of the Universal Church it does not unchurch those of other denominations. The constitution of the Church which was laid down in 1887 established a uniform practice of worship and intergrated Japanese and foreign personnel within one organization. The fact that this had taken place meant that in the years following 1890 when the Imperial Rescript on Education inaugurated a nationalistic reaction against the Christian Movement the *Nippon Sei Ko Kai* did not suffer as much as some of the other Protestant denominations. Whereas in 1882 the numbers of converts from the work of the three Missions was still under one thousand—far fewer than the adherents of the Congregational and Reformed Churches—before the first decade of the twentieth century the numbers within the *Nippon Sei Ko Kai* were comparable with those in the Congregational or Presbyterian Churches.

Development of Indigenization.

As we have seen, the constitution of the *Nippon Sei Ko Kai* intergrated foreign and

Japanese work within the structure of the one Church, but at that time there were no more than two or three Japanese ordained priests and it was to be some time before the Church was thoroughly in Japanese control. For a time the English and American work was carried on zonally from overlapping spheres in Tokyo and Osaka. The Church of England in Canada also began to send missionaries from 1888. By the beginning of the twentieth century the English Church Missionary Society had an extensive work in Hokkaido and Kyushu apart from its work in Tokyo, Osaka and Shikoku. The S. P. G. has its main work in Tokyo, Yokohama and Kobe from which centers it had branched out. The American Church had work in Tokyo and northwards through to Tohoku and from Osaka northwards through Kyoto to the Nihon Kai. The Canadian work was concentrated in mid Japan. The first major step forward in indigenization took place in 1923 when the two dioceses of Tokyo and Osaka were carved out of the previous existing work, and two Japanese Bishops—Bishops Motoda (previously Dean of St. Paul's University) and Naide—were consecrated Bishops of these autonomous dioceses. The requirement for the constitution of the diocese was that there be eight self-supporting priests within the diocese. English and American missionaries continued to work within the newly constituted dioceses and Mission funds were also made available for some projects, but the foreign missionaries were subject to the direction of the newly consecrated Japanese Bishops. A further step was taken in 1935 when the mid-Japan diocese (which was dependent upon the Canadian Church for its Mission policy and economical development) elected a Japanese (Bishop Sasaki) as its Bishop. The growing nationalism before the war made it increasingly difficult for the foreign Bishops and foreign parish clergy to function satisfactorily and so, during 1940 and early 1941, all the foreign Bishops resigned and foreign missionaries who were acting as Rectors of parishes also resigned their responsibilities. In their place Japanese Bishops were elected and consecrated and Japanese priests were appointed to the Rectorship of the churches. This meant that all ten dioceses of the Japanese church were under the direct control of Japanese Bishops. The fact that the *Nippon Sei Ko Kai* was legally dissolved by the Government during the war meant that those within the Church who refused to enter into the *Kyodan* not only had to face persecution or legal inhibitions but also could preserve the diocesan nature of the Church only with great difficulty. About one-third of the Church actually entered the United Church but returned to the *Nippon Sei Ko Kai* during 1946 and 1947. The monetary inflation also meant the loss of endowment funds and more than one-third of the churches had been destroyed by the bombing. It was therefore decided after the war that the goal of self-support which the Church had set in 1940 was not a practical proposition immediately. The Episcopal Church in America, the Church in Canada and the Church of England working through the two Missionary Societies promised their support to the Church whilst respecting the Church's autonomy in its ordering and development. Actually post-war missionaries who have come to Japan whether from England, Canada, America, Australia or New Zealand, have all worked under the direction of Japanese Bishops and have a place alongside their Japanese colleagues. At the present time the *Nippon Sei Ko Kai* has 250 churches and 105 other places of worship. There are

260 Japanese clergy as against 30 foreign clergy. The registered membership of the Church is 41,000 but it is reckoned that a considerable number who are not immediately in contact with *Nippon Sei Ko Kai* churches are, nonetheless baptized members of the Church. The communicant membership is over 20,000.

The *Nippon Seiko Kai's* Contribution to Christian Education.

The early Anglican-Episcopal missionaries shared the general concern for Christian education realizing that education so far as Japan was concerned was to be an important medium of evangelism. Bishop Williams, when he moved from Osaka to Tokyo, opened St. Paul's School in 1875 which has now developed into one of the major private universities in Tokyo with a present enrolment of some 8,000 students, incorporating Arts, Science, Economics, Social Sciences and Law faculties. The American Mission was also responsible for founding St. Margaret's Girls' School in Tokyo in 1878 and St. Agnes' Girls' School in Osaka which later moved to Kyoto to become Heian Girls' School. The latter school now goes up to Junior College level. The Americans also established a kindergarten teachers training school in Sendai. The English C. M. S. began a girls' school in Osaka (Poole School) which now goes up to Junior College level, whilst the English S. P. G. was responsible for St. Hilda's Girls' School in Tokyo and Shoin in Kobe—the latter incorporating a Junior College. The C. M. S. also started a boys school in Osaka (Momyama) which this year added a university course with the title of St. Andrew's University. The Canadian Mission opened a kindergarten teachers training school in Nagoya which still operates. The English and American missionaries were also concerned with the training of the clergy. Bishop Williams established a seminary in Tokyo in 1877, the C. M. S. one in Osaka in 1884 which was the successor to a previous school in Nagasaki, whilst the S. P. G. had its clergy school (St. Andrew's) in Tokyo. Just as the various Missions had co-operated in the forming of N. S. K. K. so they now worked for a central college which could be a worthy training center for the whole Church.

The offerings of the first Pan-Anglican Congress in London in 1908 gave the financial basis and the merger of the former three institutions was effected in 1911. For a time the Theological College operated in close conjunction with St. Paul's University and, as a result, the majority of students graduated simultaneously from the University and the Seminary. The war of 1941-1945 brought an end to this close relationship and the bombing saw the College a complete wreck with its buildings, Chapel and library completely destroyed. The present Theological College is operated as a three-year post graduate college and has no close association with St. Paul's although amongst its students many will be graduates from St. Paul's University. The fact that that the College originated from a merger was seen in the fact that the pre-war faculty included one representative from the American Episcopal Church Mission, one from C. M. S. and one from S. P. G. Now, however, the autonomy of the Church is recognized in the sense the Japanese governing board can invite whom they will, irrespective of the country of origin. The present

faculty under a Japanese principal (actually the principal has been Japanese from the start) includes representatives from the Church of England, the Canadian Church and the American Episcopalian Church. As in the case of mother churches, kindergartens have been used as a means of evangelism and in particular as an economic support to a church, and the Church now has well over 100 kindergartens. In the postwar period there have been new educational ventures, namely the foundation of St. Michael's School at Kamakura and the school in connection with the Elizabeth Sander's Orphanage at Oiso.

The place of education in the general Church pattern is questioned in some circles and very often the extent to which they are making Christians is made a criterion of their worthwhileness. Whilst the N. S. K. K. shares with many of the other churches the disabilities attached to situations that have arisen without adherence to a long range plan of strategy, yet even if the test of "making Christians" is applied, it could be shown that St. Paul's University, for example, has been instrumental in feeding new members into the life of Tokyo Diocese and churches in other parts of Japan, but the work of the Church in education is, at the same time, a witness to fundamental aspect of the Gospel that the Christian Gospel comes to the totality of human life, and the work of the Christian school can be very often looked upon as a preparation for the Gospel if we interpret the "Gospel" in the narrower sense of the preaching of the Christian message. Many of the churches also utilize the kindergarten as evangelistic means and the membership of many of the churches is comprised largely of ex-graduates of the kindergarten who have remained faithful to that which they first heard as children.

Nippon Seiko Kai and Social Activities

The Anglican and Episcopal missionaries were also conscious of the fact that the healing of the sick and the administry of those who need, was part of the Christian commission. Most notable of the Church's institution is St. Luke's Hospital which was largely the child of the labors of Dr. Teusler of the United States. The hospital began in a meager way in 1900 but is now the largest hospital in Tokyo, and perhaps even in the Far East. Whilst some may assert very little evangelistic preaching or actual missionary activity is carried on in the hospital, yet the Chapel is central to the whole building and the Cross above the hospital in the center of Tokyo bears witness to the reconciling healing mission of the Christian Gospel. The hospital is now completely self-supporting and supports two chaplains. Alongside the hospital is the St. Luke's School of Nursing (now a Junior College) which was a pioneer effort for the introduction of western standards of nursing into the Japanese pattern. The Canadian Church opened a sanatorium at Obuse which is now one of the outstanding hospitals in Nagano Prefecture. Another 200 bed sanatorium is at Kuju-kuri in Chiba Prefecture, a development from a pre-war Old People's Home. In Osaka Diocese there are five Orphanages of which the Hakuaisha has been famous throughout Japan for many years. With Miss Riddell's Leprosarium at Kumamoto and Miss Cornwell Leigh's similar project at Kusatsu, the N. S. K. K. take a leading place in Leper work in Japan

and the Leprosarium at Airakuen in Okinawa was an offshoot from Kumamoto. Although both these Leprosaria were taken over by the Japanese Government before the war, extensive chaplaincy work is still carried on both in Kumamoto and Kusatsu as well as in Zensei, Tokyo. The Kiyosato educational experimental project, established Dr. Paul Rusch after the war in Yamanashi Prefecture, also bears witness to the manifoldness of the Christian message with the Church at the heart of the venture, the rural hospital and clinic, the community center and kindergarten and the farm experimental project. The rural hospital and clinic was first started with the support of St. Luke's Hospital in Tokyo.

The Outreach of the Church.

In the 1880's a notable piece of evangelism was amongst the Ainu in Hokkaido. This was carried out largely by Arch Deacon Bachelor. The spread of the Japanese Empire meant the recognition by the Church of the need of work in Korea, Formosa and China, and in all these centers before the war there were flourishing N. S. K. K. churches and schools. When the emigration to Brazil began the Church sent out three of her clergy and as a result of their efforts vigorous churches have grown up amongst the Japanese community in Brazil which are now incorporated into the American Episcopal Diocese in that country. The confining of Japan to the four islands after the war has meant that the N. S. K. K. has been limited in its overseas missionary activity although a lively interest has been taken in the post-war development in Okinawa and missionary personnel have been sent there from the Church in Japan. At the moment the Church is of course very conscious of the littleness of its present impact upon Japan as a whole and many of the dioceses have plans for the gradual evangelism of those areas which are as yet untouched. In this centenary year the Church is particularly considering the advisability of adopting an overall strategy and employing new tactics particularly with regard to rural evangelism and industrial evangelism which, up to the present, has hardly been tackled by any of the denominations. The N. S. K. K. whilst valuing the traditions in which it has been born and regarding history as something which is created by and used of God and that the Church must therefore not lightly cast aside its links with its sister churches throughout the world, yet realizes that the impact of the Christian Gospel in Japan is something which demands the co-operative work of the whole Church. For this reason the N. S. K. K. from its very earliest days has been happy to enter into any co-operative ventures which seek to give a united Christian witness on issues where particular traditional interpretations do not come into conflict with interpretations in other Christian bodies. As the Anglican Communion as a whole the N. S. K. K. looks for the development of the Coming Great Church that will transcend the littleness of present denominational differences and will most perfectly represent the will of the Master who is to head of the body, but at the same time the Church realizes that a growing together is not a mere haphazard merging in which individual traditions are carelessly cast aside but where, in the leading of God, the individual gifts become the corporate gifts of the entire body.

Some of the most interesting facts in the study of history are those more intimate, personal glances into the lives of the men who made history. . . Here is such a glance—warm and human—yet full of significance. The author is engaged in a scholarly study of Protestantism and its interrelationships with modern thought in Japan, but has taken time to prepare this intensely interesting article especially for *JCQ*.

Japan's First Christian Love Letters

A Glimpse at the Correspondence of Danjo and Miyako Ebina

KIYO TAKEDA CHO*

Looking back over the history of the early period of modern Japanese history we discover that the leaders of *Meiroke-sha* (Japan's first "academy" composed of the most outstanding and pioneering thinkers of the "Enlightenment" period of the Meiji era, and publisher of the famous journal *Meiroke-Zasshi*) especially men like Arinori Mori and Yukichi Fukuzawa, were deeply concerned with the question of liberation of woman. They bravely supported the principle of monogamy and worked against the current practices of polygamy and prostitution, but it was not until the twenties of the *Meiji* period that men of letters began to seriously treat woman as an equal being and to evidence a genuine respect for womanhood. The Romantics like Zenji Iwamoto, Tokoku Kitamura, and other writers in the *Jogaku Zasshi* and the *Bungakukai* were pioneers in this treatment. It was with these men that concepts like freedom in love and "the eternal woman" were stressed in Japan and it was through them that woman's value as a human being came to be fully recognized.

Tokoku Kitamura opened an attack on the literature of the Tokugawa era which as a product of feudalistic society held human life in low regard, and the writings of Koyo Ozaki which received this strain of Tokugawa literature and endeavored to stress respect for human life and establish a concept of romantic love. It is said that "love is the key to life" and the youth of those days were duly impressed by this saying. Toson Shimazaki and Naoe Kinoshita were two such young men. Their concept of love was a romantic expression of their view of man, especially of womanhood, which was definitely stimulated by Christianity, even though this love, being so emotionally romantic, was fragile and easily disrupted by human weakness.

It is evident that Christianity brought to Japan a new respect for human life, education of women, and a new standard of family life—the relationship between a man and a

*Translated by Miss Sobi Aikawa and adapted for *JCQ* by Mrs. Cho and the Editor.

woman based on love. But we cannot truly understand the significance of this apart from the study of it as exemplified in individual Christian lives which demonstrate that such concepts are not simply *ideal* but the very fabric of human history. The deep abiding bond of love between Masahisa Uemura and his wife Sueno is an outstanding example of this. The study of the struggle and heartbreak of those who embraced the Christian concept of love and endeavored to live by it within the framework of the typical Japanese spiritual and social traditions of that day is not to be accomplished by merely scratching the surface of historical events. Time has moved rapidly since the time of this reformation and a new set of spiritual and social traditions prevails today. Those who faced opposition and persevered are the "link" between the old and the new.

Danjo Ebina was one of these pioneering young Protestants who struggled to live as Christians at the dawn of the new age. Educated by Captain Janes in the Kumamoto *Yogakko*, he was among those thirty students who signed their confession of faith on Mt. Hanaoka in 1876 and went on to further study at Doshisha. He became a pioneer evangelist, pastoring the Annaka Church (Jo Nijima was the founder) and later the Kobe and Hongo Churches. As the pastor of Hongo Church, he was especially influential among young intellectuals in Tokyo and edited the *Shinjin* (the *New Man*). Thus he developed quite a number of Christian leaders. Sakuzo Yoshino, the famous advocate of democracy in the Taisho period was one of these. Ebina served at one time as president of Doshisha. The controversy between him and Masahisa Uemura on Christology was a famous and important event in the history of Christian theology in Japan. As to a true understanding of the Gospel the victor was decidedly Uemura, nevertheless, Ebina was one of the most outstanding Christian leaders of the Meiji and Taisho eras.

Ebina married Miss Miyako Yokoi, a daughter of Shonan Yokoi, who was a famous Confucian scholar of the *Jitsugakuha* in Kumamoto and sympathetic to Christianity. He was killed by a Nationalist who suspected that he might be a secret believer in Christianity. Miyako herself had also been a student at the Kumamoto *Yogakko*. They were married October 3, 1882, at the very beginning of Meiji era when Christianity was still forbidden, [in Imaharu Church.

Unpublished Correspondence

Recently International Christian University has become the custodian of various materials concerned with Ebina, belonging to his daughter Michiko. Among these materials are many hitherto unpublished letters exchanged by Ebina and Miyako prior to their marriage. These letters reveal the search of two young Christians for a love rooted and grounded in Christian faith, in an age of restraint and tradition. Ebina addressed his letters to Miyako simply to the "honorable caretaker" in the absence of Tokio Yokoi who was his schoolmate at Kumamoto *Yogakko*, and Miyako's brother; and Miyako did not sign her name on the envelope but just the name of the town. We can readily understand the difficulty experienced by these two young Christians in exchanging love letters in such an age. There is little doubt that the letters are probably the oldest such letters in Japan,

certainly in its Protestant history, which have been preserved until the present day. These are indeed rare letters in that they clearly reveal the search for a true Christian love and express the definite opinions and feelings of a young woman in this regard.

Engagement

Long before she met Ebina, Miyako had come to know of the Christianity of the West. As mentioned above she was the daughter of Shonan Yokoi who respected George Washington as no less a saint than those of ancient China such as Gyo or Shun. Her mother was Tsuseko Yokoi of whose sisters Junko Takezaki was a famous Christian educator and Hisako Tokutomi was the mother of the famous writers Soho and Roka Tokutomi, and whose younger sister Kajiko Yajima, was the founder of Japan's Women's Temperance Union and *Joshi Gakuin*, an outstanding Christian girls' school.

That Ebina at first had no thought of marriage to Miyako is obvious by the suspicion he evidenced toward her when she entered the *Yogakko*. He questioned Captain Janes as to why he had allowed a young woman to enter the young men's school. Later, however, during an evangelistic tour Ebina and Tokio Yokoi, Miyako's brother, found themselves room-mates one night in Kobe. That night young Tokio broached the question of marriage to Miyako to young Ebina. Tokio's mother, probably because of the social pressure against Christianity in Kumamoto, had originally insisted that he commit suicide after he had made his profession of faith. By this time, however, she had so completely altered her attitude that she had indicated to Tokio that she should like to give her daughter in marriage to a fellow member of the Kumamoto Band!

Miyako had been a very popular girl at the *Yogakko* and several had sought her hand in marriage. It is said that Tsurin Kanamori had proposed to her and was deeply hurt by her refusal. Ebina was thus extremely happy over the offer made by Tokio but asked for time to consider the matter and to discuss it with his best friend. He immediately visited Kanamori!

Ebina likewise sought the advice of Berri, the family doctor to the Yokois. The doctor described Miyako as "very good, mild, gentle, intelligent, beautiful." It is abundantly clear that she was an unusually charming young lady. Her health, however, was not the best. Her physical condition seems to have caused Ebina to hesitate as he contemplated the marriage. Something of his thinking is recorded in these words:

If her physical condition disturbs my devotion, I am without excuse before God my father. I have lost my appetite and fasted several times because of my turmoil. Should I make a wrong decision this once it shall be irrevocable. I have thought again and again of this matter, and have come to realize that I have a wrong idea about marriage for I have sought a wife who will be able to help me by reading many books. In other words, I have sought a wife with a utilitarian purpose in mind. Now I must rethink this. Even if I should marry a healthy woman what assurance do I have that she will not injure her health after marriage? Should she so become a weak woman I would be extremely disappointed. I must not overlook the pitfalls of a utilitarian marriage. Of course health and education are important elements of a successful marriage but the essential spirit of marriage must be found on a deeper level. It is something that must not change for all eternity. That is love. This is an essential necessity for a husband and a wife. The question now is: Do I

have this love toward her or not? Do I love her with a love that will remain unchanged for eternity? Here I think is the solution. This is the holy secret of a couple. This is God's will. Having realized it, now I have confidence. Just when I made up my mind, Tokio informed me that his sister had similarly decided and his mother was very happy about it at all. (1)

The following are extracts from Danjo and Miyako's correspondence.

Letter 1. Early 1882—Danjo to Miyako

When I hear the chirp of the sparrows I am reminded that not one of them can fall without the Father's willing it, and when I see the beautiful flowers of the field, I begin to meditate upon the nature of their growth, and then I appreciate my God and stretch my body and fly forth to Grace beyond this world, apart from the dust close to that which is pure, and I feel as if I were on the wings of an angel. This is joy and I am happy. We have been brought to this unexpected engagement and I realize that the will of God stands beyond our thoughts. I imagine you have never thought of an unworthy man like myself, and I have never thought of marrying the kind of lady you are. But now you are the only girl I love and my most intimate friend.

Letter 2. Miyako's Self-introduction

(Miyako to Danjo—May 7, 1882)

At this time we happened to be engaged by a strange destiny. It is impossible that this was of human beings. This is surely of God's arranging! It is impossible for us to know what may happen from moment to moment. As I think of my past life I am reminded of numerous things that have happened, things beyond the scan of human knowledge. I am sure that He will work in us and accomplish His work for us. If he does so He will be with us forever in the same way. We believe in God and His leadership. The important thing for us is to know His will and do our best according to it.

I must address myself to a point about which you were concerned some time ago. As you said, unless both of us seek the good of the other, love is impossible. Love is the foundation of all kinds of happiness. If we lack this one point, namely love, any kind of happiness may turn into suffering, and we might remain unhappy all of our life. I am also very much afraid at this point. A woman is generally weak but I am especially so. Lacking a degree of independence, I easily depend on others. At home I usually depend on my mother and brother. Now having grown older, I can not share everything with my mother, and I can not depend wholly upon my brother, and I often am bewildered with my personal burdens. But at last I am fortunately engaged to you on whom I can truly depend, and I feel as if I have seen a light in my darkness, have found a stick to support me in my weariness. Now I belong to you! I commit everything to you. My love grows deeper every day. Please lead me and show me the way I should take. It makes me happy that you should love one such as I forever. I yearn for you.

And yet I feel anxiety. I wonder if you have not seen in me more than is really there. If this be so it will surely lead to difficulties later. Let me tell you my weak points.

First of all, I am a woman of poor character and compared in terms of education with other girls who have studied at girls' schools, I would be considered only middle class. I have no superior ability. As you know I have been sick for a long time—since many years ago. I have had to relinquish all of my studies. This is my first weak point.

I don't think it should be necessary to go into the question of my health again. Yet I feel very sorry for you when I think of my own health. I have great fears as to how much I can really help you. Please keep this in your mind, these shortcomings of mine, since I am afraid that you will be disappointed in the future. Although I am but a trifle

of a woman I shall do all that I can as the Bible tells us that "God chose what is foolish in the world to shame the wise, God chose what is weak in the world to shame the strong." Surely therefore there must be something for me to do. I am encouraged by this thought and I can see the shining sun in a beautiful clear sky in the midst of my gloomy days. I want to serve Jesus Christ and work as His servant all of my life, glorifying the Name of the Lord.

Letter 3. The True Christian Couple:

(Miyako to Danjo—June 20)

I received your letter of the eleventh and thank you for it. As I read your letter, overflowing with your love, I felt as a leaf stirred by the breeze must feel. It is very difficult to express my present overwhelming feeling in a letter. I am very happy to find that my introduction of myself has met your approval, but I blush when I find your generous remark about myself as an uncommon woman. Your words of praise are rather a whip to me. This has awakened me and encourages me. From now on I will try my best.

The heavy burden which I have carried these last several years, and which was so heavy that at times I thought I could not bear it, is now gone. I cannot imagine that I shall ever know it again. I have experienced the truth of the Bible that God "with the temptation will also provide the way of escape". However I do not mean that I rejoice that my burdens are gone. It is our duty to bear the cross. I have no desire to escape. It is a honor to carry the cross as did Jesus. As a sinner I want very much to share the cross of Christ. I am happy bearing a cross as did Jesus. Even though until now I have had to bear it alone, from now, as you say, I shall carry it with you. It will become lighter and I am sure that without being conscious of it, I can now carry even heavier burdens. In Japan a couple is usually united only in the flesh and when the flesh grows weak, love also grows weak. There are but few whose love lasts until they reach death. But this is not true of Christians. The Christian man and woman marry and work together simply for God's glory. A husband performs his duty toward God and the wife fulfills her own responsibilities to God, for God is their common purpose in life. It will be the greatest joy for both of us if we can follow God's teaching that husband and wife are one body, and not only be joined together for this world but in heaven. As we have discovered the happiness of following Christ before others have, we must assume responsibility and demonstrate this truth to others. I have been truly captured by these thoughts and felt myself a woman with a living Spirit. Then suddenly I was reminded of my imperfection and began to question ability to bear this precious responsibility. Now I am about to fall into an even deeper grief. But I read your letter again and I am happy in the thought of your deep love. Please guide me forever. In your letter you say that you love me and are longing for me. It is the same with me. You have never left my mind and I know not a single night without a dream of you. I have never experienced such love in all my life. I believe this is not of man but of God. I recall the verse: "What God has therefore joined together let no man put asunder". As you have written, "Time flies like an arrow" and I know that this summer will fly like an arrow—but fall seems so far away!...

If you have soiled clothes please keep them with you. When I come to Annaka (Danjo's preaching place), I shall wash them for you, so please do not bother to do it yourself.

Letter 4. "There are Many Who Rule Nations but Few Who Rule Their Own Home"

(Danjo to Miyako—June 24)

(Following comments on human relations in the home and material difficulties Danjo writes)...so that it is important that both of us follow Christ and rejoice in walking

His way with joy in Truth. It is wrong that most people act willfully and seek joy in comfort and ease. This is like looking for fish on a tree! I dislike flattery and lying more than anything else. We respect the man who walks firmly in God's way and keeps company with Truth. This may sound like the words one would hear in a court of law. Actually what I am trying to say is that the man who works with the expectation of good reward will never receive, but he who works well without looking to his reward will surely receive one! Victory is the goal of men and defeat is shunned by all. But the man who wins the first time may be defeated the next time and vice versa. Hate of an enemy is a completely human emotion, and so also the desire to defeat one's enemy. But without love for one's enemy one can never ultimately win. Gentleness will conquer strength and modesty will conquer haughtiness. If you understand this truth and act according to it, you shall direct me anyway you will. But don't consider this to be a technique of cleverness. If you associate with a wise man by such a technique of cleverness, the wise man will answer you with cleverness. Thus if you would like to conquer a wise man, benevolence is better than anything else. Benevolence and sincerity are the very essence of fellowship. Both of us are called "wise". Almost everybody considers that our engagement is a combination of wisdom with wisdom. Some call us a well-matched couple. If, for a surety, we are wise, let us realize that wisdom in Christ and in the Proverbs. Our wisdom must be that which is wrought by love and motivated by sincerity. Happiness will be with us without seeking for it. Oh! There are many who rule whole nations but few can rule their own home! Let us seek to realize true happiness in the home.

There are many things I want to write but I will leave these for my next letter.

Letters reveal the personality of their writer. The more I read your letters the more I came to realize that you suit me so well and the more I come to love you.

It was a common characteristic of Hiromichi Kozaki and Danjo Ebina (as of the Kumamoto Band) that in their acceptance of Christianity they did not deny the validity of Confucianism and sought to develop their Christianity upon the latter. Thus in their writings many Confucian terms are to be found and Christian concepts are often expressed in Confucian terminology. This letter is such an example.

Letter 5. Miyako to Danjo—July 1

Every single word in your letter impressed me and I am thankful for it. I especially liked the phrases "it is important that both of us should follow Christ and rejoice in walking His way with joy in Truth" and "don't act by techniques of cleverness...if you associate with a man by a technique of cleverness, then a wise man will answer with cleverness. If we want to surpass the men of wisdom, surely there is nothing better than benevolence." These words impressed me greatly. I have learned from your letter how careful I must be in my behavior. There is nothing that will make a person low as well as cleverness. I will be especially careful in this point. You speak of knowing those who seek joy and comfort in willfulness and this leaves me uncomfortable. There must be no such willfulness on the part of a husband for wife lest it become a hindrance to the discovery of genuine happiness. It grieves me that this tendency toward willfulness is to be found even among Christian believers. I earnestly desire that between us there shall be no pride in wisdom, no deceit, no willfulness in our concern for comfort, but that, devoid of these, we shall realize the universal foundation of true married life...

Letter 6. Danjo to Miyako—July 15

(After writing regarding a sash he was giving her as a wedding gift Danjo concluded with the following in English.).

But how miserable is the condition of *Japanese* home, especially where two or more pairs live together with grandmother, sisters, brothers! How miserable is the human society in the present condition: there is none who is trustworthy! Lie, falsehood, lie, lie is wisdom, lie is peacemaker, lie is virtue, is the cry of inward heart of man.

Letter 7. Danjo to Miyako—August 10

Thank you for your letter. I was surprised that it took so long for me to receive it as you mailed it the 31st of last month. But at any rate I received it today. It is impossible to express my feeling of the last several days but I was forced to a deeper reliance upon God and my faith was strengthened because of the delay in receiving your letter. Until today God has been the only one who has known my heart and the only one to whom I have been able to reveal my heart. God rejoices if I am good and pities me when I am evil and shows me the way of salvation from that evil. Even my closest classmate thinks ill of me or is jealous when I have good fortune and it is seldom that he will be pleasant from the depths of his heart for my sake. When I do something wrong he looks down on me.

Oh! God has given me Miyako! Your goodness is my goodness and my evil becomes your evil. If the emotion of rejoicing together and of weeping together is not to be found in the marriage relationship it is to be found nowhere until this world becomes Paradise. Oh! The Marriage relationship is the foundation of the five virtues. *As far as we are led by the Spirit of God the paradise remains in us, though it be taken away from many.** Truly God is gracious and merciful. Through the delay in the arrival of your letter my faith is strengthened, my confidence and trust in God deepened, my love purified, and, what is more, my trust in you is enhanced.

There are love letters which overflow with the vigor of youth with a new found faith—the young Protestants of the emerging new Japan. It is regrettable that space prohibits the publication of all of the letters in their entirety.

(Editor's note: The above article was translated by Miss Sobi Aikawa and the Editor with assistance from several others and then revised by the author herself. The style of the letters and the difficulty of adequately rendering extremely beautiful literary expressions in English was both painstaking and time-consuming. Direct translation could hardly convey the intense quality of the letters and thus the aim has been a free rendition that conveyed the spirit and, as far as possible, the beauty of the original.)

*The italicized sentence appears in English in the original letter.

A Good Samaritan Christian

One of the "most unusual characters" to be met with in Japan is Mr. C. Litsianidi, a Greek businessman living in Japan who, incidentally, has never been in Greece. Mr. Litsianidi is presently promoting visits to mental hospitals by groups of people who engage in "recreational therapy" and thus bring a momentary gleam of light and hope into the blurred lives of these unfortunates whom society has forgotten. He calls himself a "good Samaritan Christian." It is a matter of great disappointment to him that organized Christian groups have not responded as well as secular groups to this type of service.

Here is an article about one of the lesser known leaders of the Yokohama Band. JCQ believers that this article by an able long time missionary will prove a valuable part of its Centennial Volume. Appreciation of the lives of men like this is a valuable means of gaining insight into the pages of history.

A Samurai of Jesus Christ: Masatsuna Okuno

GORDON K. CHAPMAN

The members of the student bands which gave leadership to the first generation Protestant Church were for the most part *samurai* sons. This was a most significant factor which must be taken fully into account if one is properly to appraise the character and growth of the Christian movement in Japan. Bred alike to intellectual culture and to arms, the *samurai* was the gentleman and the soldier in one person. From this noble class came some of the warmest friends and the bitterest enemies of the Christian faith.

Among the earliest and most influential *samurai* Christian leaders of the Church was the Reverend Masatsuna Okuno. Unlike the majority of his colleagues, he became a believer after he had reached middle age and thus the *senpai* of the first group of pastors. The writer's first interest in Okuno was aroused when he noticed his patriarchal figure to the left of the front row in the portrait of the conference of Christian leaders in 1883. His face reveals the strength and beauty of character which is the result of patient endurance of trial and suffering in the cause of Christ.

Warrior and Scholar

Okuno was born in the City of Edo in 1822 and was thus a witness of—and a participant in—the various movements which culminated in the overthrow of the Shogunate and the restoration of the Imperial rule. His mother died when he was five years old, and being of a rather stubborn spirit he was greatly disliked by his stepmother. Thus he was obliged to leave home and became a neophyte in one of the famous Ueno Buddhist temples and there received the training accorded a young *samurai*. His Buddhistic studies did not appeal to him and thus he had little faith in these dogmas. However, he was captivated by the Confucian teachings of the *Chu Hsi* school and became a master of Chinese philosophy and a scholar of high attainment in the classics. His devotion to scholarship was so great that at age twenty four he suffered a breakdown. As a result his father took all his books from him; but Okuno soon retrieved these and continued his studies.

As befitted a *samurai*, he was also trained in the martial arts and gained the highest rank in fencing and spear exercise and was highly accomplished in *jūdō*. In fact at age eighteen he successfully passed the examinations in military science and received a special award for his prowess. He was also very musical and was in great demand as a lute

player. With such attainment plus a bold and chivalrous spirit he soon became a leader among those serving the Shogun and even excelled in the sensual indulgences of the time.

During the period of civil war, incident to the overthrow of the Tokugawa Shōgunate and the restoration of Imperial rule, Okuno did valiant service and fought in several battles. When the last Shōgun, Yoshinobu or Keiki, resigned and thereby relinquished his rule, in all good faith, to the Emperor, the leaders of the Satsuma and Chōshū feudatories doubted his sincerity. Thus they induced the youthful emperor to issue an edict calling Keiki a traitor, and accusing him of arrogance, disloyalty and disobedience, and many of the Tokugawa officials were treated with great harshness. Unlike Keiki, who accepted a life of virtual exile at Mito and later at Shizuoka, a number of his followers, including Okuno, posing as *Shōgitai* or "defenders of righteousness," refused to submit. An attempt was made to set up a rival candidate for the throne in the person of Prince Rinnoji, the Imperial lord-abbot of the Ueno monastery in Edo. The Shōgun's admiral, Enomoto, slipped away from Tōkyō Bay with the fleet of the Shōgunate and took possession of the Goryōkaku fortress in Hakodate, with a view to establishing a republic in Yezo; while the retainers of Aizu made an alliance with the barons of the north-east to oppose the Imperial army. With the final defeat by the Imperial forces, Okuno took refuge on a warship which was nearly captured by a government ship. He then fled to Shizuoka where he served as retainer to Rinnoji and later as a courier for the former Shōgun Keiki.

When it finally appeared that Keiki's act of self-sacrifice was to go unrecognized and his character unvindicated, Okuno was in utter despair. He was now willing to offer himself as a vicarious sacrifice on behalf of his master. Thus he petitioned the Imperial Government: "Let us endure the penalty, and let our master go free." But no notice was taken of the petition and Okuno remained unmolested. He was now resolved to commit suicide in the traditional *samurai* way by *seppuku*. However, some of his priestly friends and relatives persuaded him that a supreme act of penance on behalf of his prince and fellow retainers would be more to the point.

Okuno's first act of penance involved pilgrimages to five hundred of the most important shrines and temples of Edo, while engaging in fasting and prayers with lustrations. He also sent substitutes to the shrines of Nikkō and Hakone to offer his prayers by proxy. Okuno's visitation to the shrines was in the dead of winter and as he stood before the gods of each shrine he poured icy water over his head, until in fifty days he had made ten thousand douches. During this period he either fasted or ate potatoes and buckwheat only. He also spent many nights in lonely vigil, seated on rough straw mats, while he recited numerous prayers from the sacred books. But all this was to no avail and his tortured soul became more darkened and frustrated.

A Buddhist priest now called attention to the fact that Okuno had been tardy at certain shrines and that special gifts were now due if his prince was to be restored. Furthermore, it would now be necessary to visit a much larger number of holy places and there engage in even more rigorous acts of penance. Thus setting out on foot he made pilgrimages in person to one thousand temples and shrines, giving special attention to

Inari shrines, where he made proper offerings to the god of harvests. In addition, through his proxies, he offered prayers at no fewer than fifteen thousand temples and shrines throughout Japan. By this time his body was weak and emaciated through the rigors of fasting and cold water douches and it was often necessary for his friends to help him from place to place. But in spite of all his sacrifice the heavens were as brass and there was no sign that his prayers were heard.

Okuno now returned in anger to the temple where his priestly adviser served, rebuked him for his deception, and knocked over and trampled on the images which he had hitherto regarded as sacred. He forthwith renounced all belief in the gods and returned to his former habits of fleshly indulgence. He was now fully convinced that the rites of Buddhism and Shinto were but vanity. Furthermore, in common with many other members of the *samurai* class, Okuno was without visible means of support and desperately in need of some kind of remunerative employment. To this end he moved to Yokohama which was to be the scene of his new birth into a life of unique usefulness in the Church of Christ in Japan.

Okuno as Scholar and Translator

We now observe an excellent example of God's providential working whereby He has prepared to meet the need of His faithful servants in connection with an important task. The pioneer missionaries, J. C. Hepburn and S. R. Brown, had completed the basic linguistic work needful for the translation of the Scriptures. The regulations proscribing such publication were about to be removed. In view of these circumstances, their immediate need was for a well qualified Japanese scholar who was bold and courageous and uninhibited by the fears that beset most of the people at the time. Such a man was found in Masatsuna Okuno. According to W. E. Griffis, "In superb physical and intellectual balance, equipped with all the learning of Japan, a scholar in Shinto, Buddhism, and the Confucian classics and philosophy, critically versed in all the forms of the language, withal a superb penman, Okuno was just the helper that Dr. Hepburn had long been seeking." He was first introduced to the great lexicographer and translator in the spring of 1871, when he had reached the mature age of nearly fifty and was thus in the prime of life. He was at first suspicious that the good doctor might be practicing sorcery, but as he watched his kind ministrations in the dispensary he became favorably impressed. While he was a faithful attendant at Dr. Hepburn's Bible class, during the first six months he manifested no special interest, until gradually his enthusiasm and admiration for the truths of Scripture were kindled. Finally he was converted under the earnest preaching of James H. Ballagh and joyfully entered the new life in Christ. The subject on that occasion was "Peter's Denial", and as he listened he saw his own character so clearly revealed that at first he thought someone had informed on him. He made his public confession of faith and was baptized by S. R. Brown in the summer of 1872. Less than a year later, or in the spring of 1873, Okuno was ordained as Elder of the recently organized Yokohama Church and in this way he became the elder brother counselor of the group known as the

Yokohama Band. He attended the theological classes conducted by S. R. Brown and others, and was ordained to the ministry at the first meeting of the Presbytery of the United Church of Christ in Japan in October, 1877. As he went to be with the Lord in 1910, his life as a Christian leader practically coincided with the Meiji Era.

Okuno's first work as Christian scholar and translator was in the preparation of *Ten-do-saku-den*, which was a Japanese version of Martin's "An Examination of the Principles of Christianity." He also assisted Hepburn and Brown in revising their translations of the four gospels. Okuno was one of the three Japanese scholars who worked with the missionary translation committee on the New Testament and this work was completed in 1879. His calligraphy was greatly admired and thus he assumed responsibility for the preparation of the blocks for the printing of the first edition. As the Bible was still officially proscribed, there was considerable danger involved and the printer only agreed to cooperate if Okuno took the responsibility. When asked, "Are you not afraid of being arrested or punished for doing this work?" he drew his finger significantly across his neck and replied, "They may cut off my head, but they cannot destroy my soul." While for years he devoted himself body and soul to this important work, gradually the task of evangelism and the ministry absorbed more and more of his interest and enthusiasm and he did not participate full time in the work of translating the Old Testament except in an advisory capacity.

Okuno as Hymn Writer and Poet

When one listens to the congregational singing of an average church it is hard to realize that there was a time when the missionaries actually despaired that any Japanese could learn to sing hymns as written. In fact, the minister of the Yokohama Anglican Church was actually preparing a special musical scale when one day the great miracle happened. For, Mrs. J. H. Ballagh was not to be discouraged and believed that with patience and perseverance, Japanese low guttural voices could be raised to the proper pitch. One happy morning a boy was so enthused that he falteringly but surely ran up the scale. This inspired other students to do likewise and before long the musical revolution was an accomplished fact. But missionaries were not the only ones who were concerned over problems of hymnology. A very literal translation of "Jesus Loves Me" had been prepared by the Baptist missionary, Jonathan Goble, who had visited Japan first with Perry's squadron. Japanese made merry over this doggerel in which the vernacular was severely tortured. Okuno came to the rescue and put this favorite hymn into good language with excellent rhyme and meter. This effort actually launched him into a long career as the great hymn writer of the first generation Church. Almost immediately fifteen more of the most familiar Christian hymns were translated by Okuno and published under the title, "Religious Hymns." When a new and enlarged hymnal was published in 1876, the Christian public was delighted to note that several were original compositions by Okuno, and three are included in the present Union Hymnal, *i. e.*, Nos. 293, 356, and 397. He also helped to compile the Congregational-Presbyterian Hymnal at a later date.

Okuno was also in great demand as a poet who was always delighted to compose

original poems in celebration of important occasions in the life of the Church or to write his verses on *Kakemono* for his numerous friends. For example, at the farewell meeting in honor of the Hepburns in 1892, an original poem by Okuno concluded the exercises. According to one observer, "the aged poet's beautiful and sympathetic utterances and their mournful and pathetic cadences bowed the heads and suffused the eyes of the Japanese part of the audience... Then the poet became the petitioner at the throne of grace,"...praying for God's blessing upon the Hepburns and their labors, and especially that God would greatly use the copy of the Scriptures presented to the Emperor Meiji some years before.

Okuno as Preacher and Evangelist

No sooner was Okuno a new creature in Christ than he began to witness to others of the Savior's great love of the lost and besought men to become reconciled to God. His heart was set upon communicating to his people a knowledge of the true God, and thus in time he had toured almost every province of Japan preaching the Gospel. He also served as pastor in churches at Yokosuka, Osaka, and Kojimachi in Tokyo, and was in great demand in many other churches as a preacher on special occasions. In later years he was known up and down the land as "Father Okuno," and won all hearts by his humility and piety.

Okuno often testified that he owed a great debt to S. R. Brown who had been his homiletics teacher. Years later and just before Brown's death, Okuno wrote him a letter in which he said, "You did not speak much, but you have taught me many truths. You have warned me, 'Do not pray long nor preach long, for it pleases not the Lord nor men either. Beware of this, for it is not a slight matter!... You have taught me the way to preach.... One night I was very much troubled, for there were two voices contending in my heart. One was saying: 'Go and preach the Gospel at once, for many souls are perishing,' but the other said: 'Oh! You are yet to study a long while, or else you will teach many mistakes.' I knew not which to obey. So I went and asked you: 'What shall I do?' You just gazed at me and said: 'Obey both, for they are both reasonable.' 'Dr, Brown, how can I obey two voices at one time?' You told me, smiling: 'It is an easy thing. Teach while you study, and study while you teach.' And so I have obeyed you from that time—preaching while I study, studying while I preach."

According to the late Dr. David Thompson, Masatsuna Okuno and Yoshiyasu Ogawa, the first Japanese to be ordained as ministers, are to be credited with the first indigenous evangelism. "They started from my house in Tsukiji, Mr. Okuno having come from Yokohama the night before. After a season of prayer together they quietly took up their needful belongings, not forgetting their small compact well used and well marked Chinese Bibles and went their way. From this trip they in due time returned with encouraging reports of this their first missionary journey to points in Kadzusa and Shimosa." Concerning this expedition a priest reported, "Two have come here to preach the Christian religion and to exhort men to join their faith. We find them considerate and polite

when they gather the villagers together to teach them; their teaching brings tears to the eyes of the people. Judging from these responses, there is no doubt that in a few days the people will become receptive to their teaching."

W. E. Griffis, who had acquired a good knowledge of the vernacular while teaching at Fukui, has written a very eloquent tribute to Okuno as a preacher.

"Every available foot of room was crowded by men, and children. Preaching on the Prodigal Son to his rapt countrymen, and using a language which aliens had declared unfitted by its crass earthiness to hold the heavenly treasure, he marked a distinct epoch in the history of preaching in Japan...The Japanese language seemed to have been as fully filled with the Holy Spirit as the preacher certainly was...He seemed to be an incarnate Pentecost and I understood something of what is meant by the gift of tongues. As I listened to his torrents of eloquence I was led into chambers of imagery, and was melted by the tenderness of his appeal...Dr. Brown's theory was here demonstrated that the best way to evangelize Japan would be through her own sons, and thus he wrought masterfully to raise up a native ministry....

A highly gratifying event in Okuno's preaching ministry was the first great open air mass meeting, held at Ueno Park on October 13, 1880. The Seiyoken Restaurant had been rented for the day, with the front verandah converted into a platform and the gardens furnishing abundant room for the growing audience, which grew to several thousand before the end of the day. This was on the very ground where the last bloody battle of the Restoration had been fought, with Okuno fighting for the Shōgun. Ueno was also the site of the Buddhist monastery where Okuno had received his *samurai* training. Thus, he was pleased to see in the audience a number of Buddhist priests. This meeting was the forerunner of the nation-wide revivals which developed spontaneously after the great Missionary and Japanese Conferences of 1883, and in which Okuno had a prominent part. Another unique opportunity was a two year ministry in a forced labor prison near Tokyo where, at the request of the superintendent, he conducted weekly preaching services with audiences of eight hundred to a thousand criminals.

As Okuno grew older, he seemed to become more active. Even after reaching the age of seventy he was so full of fire and boundless energy that he hoped to carry out another all Japan evangelistic tour. He was never content to repeat old discourses and was constantly in search of fresh material. When he got new light on a Bible text, or heard a telling illustration or inspiring thought, his pleasure was that of a little child receiving an interesting gift, and his face beamed with the joy of a new discovery. To preach Christ was his greatest delight and he was little moved by the winds of rationalism which chilled the Church in the last decade of the 19th century. Okuno delivered the Japanese address at the service celebrating the completion of the translation of the Old and New Testaments, in which he had played so important a part. His text was, "This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes." His powers of reasoning and illustration were most effective as he demonstrated the superiority of the Word of God to all the philosophies and theories of men. Eloquent and mighty in the Scriptures, Okuno was a living demonstration of the power of the Gospel to save and transform a human life into the image of Christ.

They Went Before

INAZO NITOBE

TAMEICHIRO KANAI*

There was perhaps no greater interpreter of Japan to the outside world during the Meiji, Taisho, and Showa eras, than Inazo Nitobe. When Japan was seeking a representative to send to the organizational meeting of the League of Nations who would need feel no hesitation in the presence of scholars and diplomats from other nations, they selected Nitobe. This was not a mistake. When headquarters were placed in Geneva, Switzerland, the Secretary and Assistant Secretary were chosen from Great Britain and Japan, respectively. During the eight years of his service in Switzerland, Nitobe greatly impressed the representatives of other nations and did much to create an attitude of trust and respect toward Japan. It is regrettable that this attitude was later destroyed by our military power and activity. Nonetheless Nitobe's contribution was considerable and one may feel that in education and personality he was superior to Britain's Drummond.

While in Switzerland Nitobe was the recipient of a seldom awarded honorary doctorate from a Swiss university and earned the reverent nickname of "Mr. Benevolence" from the general populace. So widely recognized was his service that his successor, upon assuming the duties left by Nitobe, felt it necessary to remark: "Please do not expect from me all that you received from Dr. Nitobe for he was a saint." What is the life story of such a great man?

Early Life and Study in America

Nitobe was born in 1862 in Morioka into a clan that was well known for the leaders it had produced for many generations. He was a mischievous child and very early showed evidence of strong uncompromising character. He held his family name in high honor from early childhood.

On a visit to the Tohoku area the Emperor Meiji visited in the Nitobe's home and advised the young man to dedicate his life to agriculture. Nitobe was greatly impressed and, as a result, entered the Sapporo Agricultural College in Hokkaido. Here he entered the Christian atmosphere created by the famous Dr. William Clark. It was only natural that he should be influenced by Christianity, being of keen sensitivity and considerable ambition. He was baptized at the same time as Masasuke Sato and Kanzo Uchimura and, along with them, founded the Sapporo Independent Church (*Dokuristu Kyokai*). He gave himself to both Bible study and preaching. In this his natural military character, something practically inherited, was re-clothed in Christian idealism. This is the key to under-

* Translated from a N. C. C. pamphlet by Sobi Aikawa and adapted for *JCQ* by the Editor.

standing the man, Nitobe, known to the world.

Nitobe was an avid reader of all the books in the college library, except for those in the field of science and mathematics. None in the school surpassed him in English. Upon graduation he was appointed to a post in the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry and soon took a role of active leadership in this field.

Not satisfied, however, with his own education, he decided on further study abroad. Asked by his elders why he made the decision to go to America to study he is reported to have replied that he wanted to become a "bridge" across the Pacific. His later life gave him ample opportunity to be exactly that—and he was.

While in America three things happened that greatly influenced him. The first was his marriage. He pledged his life to a chaste and devout American girl in an abiding love. Second, he had the opportunity for extensive reading. This reading at times made him uncomfortable in his Christian faith but, on such occasions, he retreated to Quaker meetings for strength. He learned to account directly to God for his faith and refused to be taken captive by formal religion. In this way he found an inner peace that sustained him throughout his life. Third, he found great inspiration in the study of the life of Lincoln. He came to admire Lincoln's personality and endeavored to appropriate his Christian spirit. He also read the works of Carlyle, especially his *Sartor Resartus* (he read it over twenty times), and found here a spur to his ambition. It was Carlyle who sustained his blend of *Samurai* militarism and Christianity, while Lincoln's Christian spirit produced in him an attitude of gentleness, humility, and virtue. Thus he was something of a John who, having been a "Son of Thunder", became the "beloved disciple".

On his return to Japan Nitobe became a teacher in the Sapporo Agricultural College, his *alma mater*. Before long, however, he was asked to assist in the development policies for the colonization of Formosa and in the increase of its industrial power. This was at the request of the Governor General, Gentaro Kodama, and Shimpei Goto, the Prime Minister. Nitobe finally accepted the post and went to Formosa. His work there was just short of spectacular. He developed Formosa's sugar production from almost nothing until it became famous throughout the world.

Nitobe the Educator

In 1906, in addition to being advisor to the Governor General, he was appointed as Principal of the *Daiichi Kotogakko* and as a professor of the Agricultural Department of the Imperial University in Tokyo. He served in this capacity for only seven years but his contribution and achievements were considerable. He taught many who, literally, became the "salt of the earth". His educational methods were unique. In addition to his regular classroom lectures he often lectured on well known foreign books, speaking of their ethical value more than their scholarly value, with such warmth and such a fine human touch that not only scholars but also students eagerly attended. He also started a weekly discussion session with students in a borrowed room near the school over tea and cookies. In these sessions students felt entirely at ease and not only learned from him but shared with him

as if talking with their father.

One experience of Nitobe's in this connection is worth special note. At the Annual Dormitory Tea, student "I" and graduate "S" protested that the principal (Nitobe), by rejecting the traditions of "Independence" and "Inviolability" of the school and initiating programs of social intercourse, had weakened the school. They cited an example where Nitobe had arranged special seats for women guests at an athletic meet. The attack was bitter. Nitobe asked for the right to speak and, calling attention to his own training in the code of the Japanese warrior and his desire not to die "the death of a dog" (*inuji*, the death of a disgraced *bushi*), he read a small slip of paper he always carried in his pocket on which he had formulated his code of responsibility as principal of the school. In this he observed that "I am not only living in horizontal relationship but in a vertical relationship, that is, in relationship to God." There was absolute silence when he finished as the students had been led to a high point of personal faith. One student stepped to the platform to speak but only tears came and he could not bring the words forth. Finally he blurted out, "I truly respect Dr. Nitobe!" Tamon Maeda and Yoho Tsurumi, students at that time, spoke highly of Nitobe. The students who had expressed dissatisfaction with his methods came to understand the spirit of the man and his desire to teach Christianity in practical ways. When Nitobe retired in April, 1913, it was with the students' tears and regrets.

The Later Years

Following his retirement from the *Daiichi Kotogakko*, Nitobe served as President of Tokyo Women's College and then later with the League of Nations, thus leading the youth of Japan and contributing to the peace of the world. He frequently spoke out when events in world affairs threatened to erupt into war and, often, by the strength of his personality, saved the situation. He organized a group of great scholars including Einstein and Madame Curie, Ocken, and others, into an association for fellowship and research, pointing the way to a new day in international relations.

Nitobe was a man who loved youth and, especially, children. He could not pass children playing in the street without pausing to pat their cheeks and offer them candy, if he had some in his pocket.

His book, *Bushido: the Soul of Japan** was written on his sick-bed. The book, an effort to explain the best of Japanese tradition, was widely read abroad and caused considerable discussion. President Theodore Roosevelt bought sixty copies and presented them to personal friends. It was translated (the original was written in English) into several European languages. Through this book the world came to an understanding of the best of the Japanese spirit.

It is to be hoped that the Japan of which Nitobe dreamed can be established. It can be accomplished only through a turning to Christ for leadership in improving and completing our national and personal character.

* See the discussion of this book elsewhere in this issue.

The Religious World

—Some Random Notes—

Compiled by *WILLIAM P. WOODARD*

The three-month period of February, March and April covered by this review is such an interesting one that it is difficult to do it justice within the compass of the space available.

THE IMPERIAL FAMILY

Marriage of Crown Prince

The outstanding national event was the wedding of H. I. H. The Crown Prince, to the young lady of his choice, Miss Michiko Shoda, daughter of a wealthy businessman. The announcement had been greeted with approval and brought a feeling of freshness, hope, and vigor into the national scene. The Shinto wedding ceremony was performed in the Imperial Ancestral Shrine without an audience, although government officials, specially invited guests, and accredited diplomats were seated in the open outside. Following the ceremony and luncheon at the palace there was a simple yet brilliant wedding procession, consisting only of the young couple in an open carriage, two carriages with attendants, and a small mounted honor guard. In spite of admonitions by the police over loud speakers the hundreds of thousands of people occupying reserved seats and standing along the five mile route greeted the Prince and Princess with cheers which were acknowledged by smiles and uplifted hands. The only exception to the cheering was the

elderly people who, sitting on matting along the roadside, did not deign to look at their prince but bowed reverently as the carriage passed. Outside Tokyo, where the appearance of members of the Imperial Family is more rare, throngs lined the streets to greet the young couple when they went to the Grand Shrine of Ise and elsewhere to pay respects to the ancestral spirits.

There can be no doubt but that the marriage has brought the Imperial Family closer to the people. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that the crowds were not as large as was anticipated. One reason for this, perhaps the main one, was that from early morning the activities of the principal participants and the entire procession from the Imperial Palace to the Prince's residence were televised by all stations. Another reason, which is much more difficult if not impossible to gauge, is the marked change in attitude toward the Imperial Family, especially among the young people. There unquestionably is a feeling in a segment of Japanese society—how large, no one can guess, although it is especially evident among the youth and in labor union circles—that the emperor system is, shall we say, an an-

achronism in a modern democratic society.

Several incidents served to mar the festive spirit of the wedding. A young man, reported to be unbalanced, threw a stone at the couple and then attempted to board their carriage; some eighteen people were seriously injured when the crowds in Nara got out of control; the amnesty in connection with the wedding has been misused by the government to absolve election law violators; and a classmate and close friend of the Crown Princess was brusquely turned away when she went to the hotel in Nara with a small present. Generally speaking there is a good deal of sympathy for the brave young lady who has been willing to go behind the bamboo curtain of the Imperial Court and face the inevitable regimentation of court life.

Indications are the young couple will continue to break precedents. The Princess made an unprecedented call on her family a few days after the wedding and the Prince joined the family for dinner. Apparently they plan to keep their children with them in the home and not have them reared apart by officials of the Imperial Household Agency.

According to Mrs. Elizabeth Vining, his former tutor, and the only guest invited from abroad, the Crown Prince is an agnostic.

Princess Suga Engaged

In March the engagement of Princess Suga, youngest daughter of the Emperor, to Hisanaga Shimazu, son of the late Hisanori Shimazu of the famous Kyushu clan, was announced. Young Shimazu is an employee of the Japan Export and Import Bank. His mother, Mrs. Hisako Shimazu, is an arbitrator of the Tokyo Family Court.

At the time of her marriage Princess Suga, like her sisters, will become a commoner.

Emperor's Birthday

The changed attitude toward the Imperial Family was evident in the 132,240 persons reported to have entered the palace grounds on the Emperor's birthday, April 29. According to one of the participants, the older people all shouted "Banzai" when the Royal Family appeared on a specially constructed balcony, but the young people did not. Asked regarding this, one young woman said, "We were forced to do it during the war and we don't like it now."

POLITICAL

Foreign Troops and Bases declared Unconstitutional

Perhaps the second most significant event of the period was a decision of the Tokyo District Court declaring the stationing of foreign troops and the existence of military bases in Japan unconstitutional. Greeted with acclaim by many socialists and leftists, the decision was a severe blow to the government's position and the issue is being taken directly to the Supreme Court for a final decision, which is expected to be rendered in September. This action is welcomed because the subject of Japan's constitutional right to maintain defence forces needs to be clarified.

The Liberal Democratic Party was victorious over its Socialist rival in both the gubernatorial and local assembly elections in April. Of the twenty new governors, only four are definitely identified as Liberal Democrats and only one as a Socialist, but eight of the independent are conservative, while

only two are "progressives." Of the 2,656 members of the local assemblies, the Liberal Democrats won 1,600 seats, the Socialists 561, the Communists 12, and minor parties 52. Of the 431 independents, 279 are considered conservative and 84 "progressives." An estimated 79.5 percent of the electorate are reported to have voted.

Two strong factors influencing this conservative trend are believed to have been the manner in which the Socialists seem to be at the beck and call of leftists in Peking and Moscow as well as here in Japan, and the crisis in Tibet. The statement by Inejiro Asamura, Secretary General of the Socialist Party, that the United States is "the common enemy of Japan and Communist China" probably injured rather than helped the Socialist cause.

Unknown Soldier's Tomb

Japan's "Tomb to an Unknown Soldier" was at last dedicated on March 28th, in the presence of Their Majesties, the Emperor and Empress, and some three hundred government officials and prominent guests. The ashes of approximately 28,000 unidentified soldiers are interred at the tomb which is located on a beautiful site at Chidorigafuchi along the palace moat. The structure was erected at a cost of nearly \$1,400,000. Christians hope that this monument will provide a public means of paying respects to those who have made the supreme sacrifice for their country in a manner which will not involve participation in non-Christian rites. The dedication was marred by an attempt on the part of a young ultra-nationalist to present a petition to the Emperor asking for the removal of the stigma on the memory of the army officers who

were executed after the abortive uprising of February 26, 1936. It is significant of the times, and particularly the position of the Emperor, that the culprit was tried for violation of the "Minor Offense Law!"

Security Forces Equipment

Prime Minister Nobusuke Kishi stated on March 17th before the House of Representatives Cabinet Committee that "possession of nuclear bombs by U.S. Security Forces in Japan had nothing to do with the Constitution" and added that Japan "has no authority to control the equipment of the U. S. Forces stationed in this country."

Soka Gakkai Candidates Win

Soka Gakkai, the fanatical Nichiren organization which has disturbed the religious world and labor unions, has made considerable progress politically as a result of the recent elections. All seventy-six of its candidates to ward assemblies in Tokyo were elected. Many of the candidates are reported to have received the highest number of votes. Eighteen of those elected were former assembly members, fifty-eight are newcomers. The increased political activity of this body is viewed in many quarters with considerable apprehension.

Rightist Activity

About two hundred fifty representatives of six rightist organizations are planning a united front against leftist groups, according to a report in the Japan Times. Such organizations as the *Dai Nippon Seisanto* (Greater Japan Production Party), *Kokumin Dobo Kai* (National Brethren Society), *Nippon Kokusui Kai* (Japan National Society), and the *Gokoku Dan* (Fatherland Defense

Group) are said to be determined to resort to terrorism and even murder in order to eliminate objectionable leaders of the Communist and Socialist parties and the Japan General Federation of Trade Unions (*Sohyo*).

An indication of this determination was evident in the demonstration which occurred in the plaza adjacent to the Shinbashi Station in Tokyo when a meeting of the leftist "Japan Broom Society," which aims at the elimination of corruption from the Tokyo Metropolitan Government, was interrupted by representatives of the rightist "Rising Sun Youth Corps" and the "Party of Righteous Men." Considerable property damage resulted and eleven of the rightists were arrested.

* * *

A stone slab has been erected in the American Security Forces Washington Heights Housing Area in Tokyo to commemorate the suicide by *hara kiri* in late August 1945 of fourteen men, ranging in age from seventeen to fifty-nine years of age. All were members of a nationalistic organization called the "Great Eastern School" (*Daito-juku*).

Leftist Activity

If there were ever any doubt the Communist sympathies of the leadership of the Anti A-H Bomb Council, they should be dispelled by the report that the twenty-one year old daughter of Professor Kaoru Yasui, General Secretary of the Council, is leaving in June for Moscow where she will study literature for five years. This has been made possible by the personal invitation of Nikita Khrushchev himself, who met the young lady and learned of her interest last

year, when she acted as interpreter for her father at the time he went to Moscow to receive in person the Lenin International Peace Prize.

* * *

A repository for the ashes of 5,500 persons who died in the Atom Bomb destruction of Nagasaki has been erected by the "Anti-A Bomb Association" of Nagasaki, according to The Japan Times. The ashes are interred on the ground floor and a statue of the Buddhist Goddess of Mercy has been erected on the second floor.

Teacher's Efficiency Rating

Agitation against the teachers' rating system has been less noticeable but has not by any means ended. In March, sixty principals were blockaded in a school auditorium for two hours in Himeji City, Hyogo Prefecture, when 800 teachers picketed the meeting to show their opposition to the proposed efficiency rating system. It may be anticipated that within a few months the struggle tempo will increase and that this group will resume not only this struggle but take up other matters more political than pedagogical.

SHINTO

An estimated 40,000 persons visited Yasukuni Shrine in connection with the five-day spring festival which opened March 21st, and some 30,000 worshipped there at a special three-day festival early in the month. Bereaved relatives from all over the country came to Tokyo for the event to which the Emperor sent a proxy.

* * *

Observance of Shinto rites in connection

with the beginning of construction activities by government and semi-government agencies has become common practice in recent years. For example, Shrine priests officiated April 20th, at Atami, Shizuoka Prefecture in connection with the Japan National Railway Corporation's ground breaking ceremony for a tunnel for the new standard gauge line, which will reduce the time of the Tokyo-Osaka trip to approximately three hours. A similar rite was performed for the new \$50 million Japan Chamber of Commerce and Industry Building at Babasakimon in Tokyo.

* * *

After more than three years' delay four officials of the Yahiko Shrine in Niigata are being charged in court with involuntary manslaughter in connection with a 1956 New Year Day disaster which resulted in the death of 124 persons. Fines of ¥ 50,000 (about \$ 140) are being demanded by the prosecutor.

* * *

Although no effort to revive the observance of *Kigensetsu*, National Foundation Day, on February 11th has been made thus far this year, this does not mean that the movement has subsided; but the longer the problem is delayed the less chance there is that it will be revived. As the Japanese language Asahi Newspaper editorial stated.

"Some of the people who want to revive *Kigensetsu* have a chip on their shoulder. The old rightists are also trying to exploit *Kigensetsu* as a banner for making a come back. This has antagonized the public and explains why the revival of *Kigensetsu* has no appeal even for people who were born in the Meiji and Taisho eras and have nostalgic memories of the day and

of the red-white cakes associated with it. For the younger generation, *Kigensetsu* has no meaning whatsoever.

BUDDHISM

A five-day "Buddha Jayanti," which presumably commemorated the 2,500th anniversary of the death of the Buddha, was held in Tokyo, March 27 to 31, under the sponsorship of a special government-appointed committee and financed by a government grant of ¥ 30 million. (The first celebration of this occasion occurred in Japan in 1934!) However, this must not be interpreted as in any way indicating a revival of Buddhism in Japan. From beginning to end the project was a government-backed effort to develop better cultural relations between this country and the countries of south-east Asia. On numerous occasions in recent years the Japanese Government has accepted invitations and sent delegates to religious festivals in predominantly Buddhist countries and consequently felt the necessity of returning the courtesy in some manner.

As would be expected, Buddhist individuals and organizations were asked to assist the special committee and generally responded with enthusiasm. Nevertheless, although there were lectures and symposiums for all, the event itself was more of a social and cultural than a religious gathering. One outstanding event was a three-hour mass meeting at the Tokyo Municipal Gymnasium, which included a welcome address by Prime Minister Kishi and the rendering of a musical composition entitled "Nirvana," by the Japan Broadcasting Corporation's symphony orchestra and a 300 member chorus. Forty-nine delegates representing eleven countries and about sixty Japanese participated in the

group meetings. The only question of general interest which emerged from the gathering was a resolution adopted at the closing session calling for the establishment or expansion of Buddhist research institutions.

Subsequent to the celebration the Board of Audit called in question the constitutionality of the use of government funds for such a purpose, but although there has been some criticism in the religious press there is no evidence at present that a major issue will develop on this question. It might equally well be argued that the commemorative stamp issued to mark the occasion was also illegal.

* * *

Buddhists in Japan have been placed in a difficult position because of the invasion of Tibet by Communist China and the successful flight the Dalai Lama to India. Yet while there is general sympathy for the "Buddhist brothers" in Tibet, they are reluctant to take any action which condemns outright Communist China. There can be no doubt that the situation is not a clear-cut case of black and white. By no stretch of the imagination can the Tibet regime of the Dalai Lama be called either free or democratic. The best they could do was for the International Affairs Committee of the Buddhist Federation to recommend to the Association that it "appeal not only to both parties concerned but also to the world that Buddhist cultural assets in Tibet be protected safely from destruction of warfare, no military force be used and the freedom of faith, particularly that of Lamaism, be guaranteed."

Without denying the fact that the issue is very political and that few people would

want to be apologists or defenders of the Lama rule in Tibet, nevertheless, it is evident here as in other similar cases that, unless they are directly involved, the capacity for moral indignation on even humanitarian grounds on the part of the majority of the Japanese people appears to be practically nil. Moral indignation does not appear to rest on any principle but on the nature and degree of this country's involvement, and the moral sensitivity of the other parties concerned. Thus, since Japan's best interest lies in not further antagonizing Peking, and since both Peking and Moscow are completely callous in respect to moral condemnation, expediency dictates that no positive action be taken. When however, Japan's own interests are involved and the other parties belong to the free world, especially the United States, condemnation is extremely outspoken and sometimes intensely emotional. As a Buddhist laymen remarked some time ago, "We know the Communists will pay no attention to what we say, so we do nothing; but we expect a higher standard of behavior from the free world and so we protest!"

* * *

An interesting but hardly typical outburst by a writer who signs himself "A Buddhist Cleric" appeared recently in one of Tokyo's English language papers. Apropos of President Eisenhower's recent address at Gettysburg, he said, "It is high time that some one tell Mr. Eisenhower that Buddhist Asia, at least, wants nothing to do with saving the Christian World from communism." Then, after stating that Buddhism is atheistic and also against communism, he called the "platitudes about God and atheism . . . extremely insulting to Asia."

The Book Shelf

Compiled by THOMAS McDANIEL

JESUS, JAPAN, and KANZO UCHIMURA

by Raymond P. Jennings. Tokyo: Kyobun Kwan, 1958, 120 pp., ¥ 350.

The arrival of the Centenary Year of the Protestant missionary movement in Japan has naturally led to a great amount of heart-searching and examination of the methods used in the propagation of the Gospel and the establishing of the church, with a readiness to recognize defects and blind spots in our spiritual forbears. A question that is constantly recurring is why the Christian movement in Japan seems to advance at so slow a pace—with the accompanying query on the lips of many whether this may not be due to an attempt to impose western patterns of church life or to graft on an alien growth without a thorough preparation of the plant or to convert individuals without converting the cultural situation within which he lives and must continue to live. It is in such a context that an interest in the Non-Church movement and its challenge to organized forms of Christianity is understandable. The fact that Uchimura is the widest read of all Japanese Christian writers within Japan and yet so little known outside of Japan apart from the missionary body certainly calls for a consideration of the reasons for his impact upon Japan, even though the fact that an impact was made does not carry the corollary that the impact made was the most desirable one from the standpoint of the fundamentals of the Christian Gospel.

The Editor of the *Japan Christian Quarterly* is to be commended upon the production of a most readable and attractively produced volume, and the Kyobun Kwan for a good piece of publishing. There are a few minor printing errors, but an

excellent piece of proof-reading has been done! The title of the book might have been better called: *For Jesus and Japan!* seeing that the stringing together of Jesus, Japan, and Uchimura is hardly the theme of the book. Dr. Jennings is careful to assert that the book is meant to be 'more informative and provocative than scholarly' and so one does not look for the kind of research to be found in the writings of men like John Howes, with whose writings readers of the *JCQ* are by now familiar, and upon whose research Dr. Jennings would appear to lean fairly heavily. One may also excuse the author for inconsistency in his method of quoting, some being introduced in small type and some being assimilated into the main text, but it would have been a help to the reader if he had not quoted writings put out more than thirty years ago as though they were contemporary. For example, *Japan Speaks for Herself* was put out in 1927, and yet the statements of the writers are often given as though they represent the contemporary assessment of the Christian movement by leading Japanese Christians. There are some minor inaccuracies that could be eliminated. The arrival of Commodore Perry was not in 1852, but the following year. Statistics are as ever unreliable, but those on page 63 do not seem to follow any recognised Church statistics, where it is asserted that, if members of the *Mukyokai* number 100,000 'then this movement easily represents...one-third of the number of Protestant Christians in Japan and one-fifth of the total Christian movement.'

The Japan Christian Year Book for 1958 (as amended in subsequent editions of the *Quarterly*) gives more than 350,00 Protestant Christians, and a grand total of over 640,000. It must be remembered, too, that these figures represent church membership, and so membership of *Mukyokai* would normally add to the total rather than be incorporated in it, even though, as Dr. Jennings says, many within the churches are also associated with the Non-Church movement.

The writer is largely concerned with Uchimura's view of the Church, and the second chapter, which follows a brief biographical section, deals primarily with this subject, and adequately points out that the rejection of churches is not tantamount to rejection of the church, whilst the subsequent chapter quotes a present member of the Non-Church movement as acknowledging that the Bible, the hymn book and basic forms of worship have come from the Church. One begins to ask whether the rebellion on Uchimura's part was because *the church was not the church*. He desired a more dynamic interpretation of the Christian Church in terms of living fellowship and God-relatedness. Dr. Jennings well described Uchimura's feelings in this matter, but this present reviewer would have wished for some more constructive criticism. There is much in Uchimura to which one would assent, but there is an important flaw at one point—and that I would suggest is in his understanding of Protestantism and Reformation. Uchimura calls for a second Reformation, we are told, and he appears to understand the first Reformation as a total rejection of medieval catholicism. The second Reformation would be the rejection of Protestantism's assimilation to Catholicism in its organizational aspects. And yet one would ask, at this point, whether Uchimura and *Mukyokai* in general are true to the testimony of the scriptures which they profess to follow, or whether their acceptance of what the historical church has given them does not involve them in a logical inconsistency. What Uchimura would fail to see is *the essential catholicity in protestantism*, and that reformation (as the word implies)

does not mean the eradication of the old, but its reconstruction according to the pattern and power of Christ. The New Testament does not think of the new as non-continuous with the old. There is continuity alongside the novelty, and Dr. Newbigin (in his book, *Household of God*) has well shown that loyalty to New Testament teaching must involve acceptance of the church as a visible society, and that failure within the life of the church does not unchurch the church, but witnesses to the paradox of the church's life as dependant on faith and not on sight—*simul iustus et peccator*. Another major point that a reading of Dr. Jennings' book will force the reader to consider is the place of nationhood within the over-all scheme of things. We are told that Uchimura's personal problem was the synthesizing of his love for Christ and his love for Japan, and that this he finally succeeded in doing. Professor Norman (in his valuable, *An Interim Report on Mukyokai-shugi Today*) similarly suggests that Uchimura taught a Japanese Christianity, which was essentially Christian—*i. e.*, no mere preversion of the Gospel, assimilated to Japanese thought and tradition. Uchimura would appear to deny the distinction of nature and grace, and demand that God's creatorship and rule in history implies that national destinies and the insights that have emerged from separate national historical circumstances are part of His leading and must be embraced within one's Christian theology. So, once Christ is recognized as the sun (the source of light and energy), Buddha can be looked upon as the moon, true as it reflects the sun. But one may ask him to bring all this into the context of St. Paul's teaching upon the corporateness of the church's life. There is a foreign-ness which is not true to the Gospel, and Uchimura and *Mukyokai* are right in rejecting this; but there is a foreign-ness which is part and parcel of the Gospel, in so far as the church is a community on the march, whose citizenship is in heaven. In actual fact, Uchimura recognised this in his actual Christian living, but his patriotism introduced an element

of irrationalism into his thinking, and caused him to forget that the fellowship amongst Christians that he desired involves unity in Christ, and that the goal is not national independence or local autonomy or free association, but an interdependence which comes from our being 'members of one another.' A rejection of sacramental principles would seem to end up in an individualism which denies that we have been 'baptized into one body.' One feels that Uchimura was very much the product of his age, and that the over-individualistic approach of the nineteenth century missionary activity is responsible for his individualistic reaction. The rediscovery of the New Testament doctrine of the Church, which marked this present century and has led to the development of the Ecumenical Movement, is something which

must have its full impact upon the organised churches in Japan, if the churches are to have a message for *Mukyokaishugi*. Despite the author's feeling that *Mukyokai* has an appropriateness for Japan, the present reviewer would feel that it has an appropriateness for those who are not distinctively Japanese, but who have been influenced by the West and yet rebel against the West. The Japanese stress on community would indicate the need for a more thorough-going baptism of Japanese society than *Mukyokaishugi* contemplates.

Jesus, Japan, and Kanzo Uchimura is a book to be read, and as the author seeks to 'provoke' and succeeds in his aim, it is as valuable for what it leads on to as for what it actually says.

R. J. Hammer

TWO JAPANESE CHRISTIAN HEROES

by Johannes Laures. Tokyo: Bridgeway Press, 1959, 128 pp., ¥ 630.

The dean of "Kirishitan" studies in Japan here offers the English reading public short, popular accounts of two important figures from Japan's "Christian Century," Takayama Ukon and Hosokawa Tamako. Of the two, Takayama is probably the most appealing, and in his own way perhaps even the more tragic, for it was his particular cross to personify exactly that bitter [conflict between religious faith and political reality which eventually destroyed the early Catholic mission to Japan.

But the way in which Fr. Laures here glosses over the most vital facets of Takayama's career hardly does much to put this early Japanese Christian into his proper relationship with history. The author most of the time simply remains silent about the possible sources for the official opposition to Christianity in early Japan. Wicked plotting by the Buddhist clergy is usually the only thing hinted at; otherwise it is by and large to be ascribed, it would appear, to a merciful providence providing its children with plentiful opportunities for grasping the palm of martyrdom.

Takayama's career is actually quite rich in illustrations of the sharp conflicts within Japanese feudal society which these early conversions to Christianity produced; but how easy it is, as in the present volume, to gloss all these over with the hallowed stereotypes of the *Acta Sanctorum*.

Of Takayama himself even the Visitor Valignano is quoted (in this very volume, by the way) as writing in 1581 that "towards the Church and the Fathers... he appears more like one of the servants than like a mighty lord." If Japan's feudal authorities were somewhat less than delighted to find arrangements of this sort developing within their tight little society, perhaps their concern was not entirely due either to diabolical inspiration nor to plotting of the "bonzes."

Takayama died shortly after his arrival in unhappy exile in the Philippines, but remained firm to the end in two things: his Catholic faith and his stubborn refusal to become a subject of the King of Spain. To this last, the most pitiful and probably also the most instructive conflict in a life full of the most bitter turmoil, Fr. Laures refers

simply as a "noble duel between Christian charity (i. e. the Spanish political authorities) and heroic unselfishness (i. e. Takayama's unwavering refusal to change his Japanese nationality), ended by divine providence (i. e. Takayama's death)." (The phrases in parentheses are those of the reviewer.) Thus what is perhaps the most significant and surely the most stubbornly fought contest in a tragic life is completely obscured amid the pink and gold clouds of pious metaphor.

Of the Lady Hosokawa far less is known, partly since for most of her life she lived as a virtual prisoner in her own house. Fr. Laures' account of Takayama hints at the suitability of eventual beatification, but Lady Hosokawa's career remains under a cloud of the possibility of suicide, which will probably always remove her from any such consideration.

This charge Fr. Laures argues against most convincingly, though he weakens his own cases by also insisting (page 69 and elsewhere) that she "sacrificed her life to save her honor," for the rest of his account argues with considerable evidence that she was simply murdered on her husband's orders to prevent her being used as a political hostage against him.

The facts of the case are far from clear, partly

because of a natural desire of later Hosokawa historians to make her out to be a model of the feudal virtues, but it does not really seem that her honor was at stake, at least not in the way this phrase is usually understood in such a context.

Here as elsewhere among the pages of this short volume there is much evidence that a considerable amount of writing in languages other than English preceded the present accounts. Sometimes as in the case of Lady Hosokawa and her honor the point is fairly important and the resulting text rather unclear; as for example when we read that in the Lady Hosokawa's marriage Nobunaga "went so far as to make the go-between" we are only for a moment confused; and at other times, reading that Akechi sent his servants "to borrow the most valuables pieces of China" we easily understand what is meant, and the slight shock afforded by the capitalization amuses without really misleading.

It would be easy to prolong such quibbles, but surely rude, for this book has been written for the eye of faith, to which highly specialized organ the difference between crockery and the Celestial Kingdom is no doubt deservedly unimportant.

Roy Andrew Millier
Reprinted from the Japan Times
by Permission.

THE ULTIMATE DEFENSE

by Frederic F. Clair. Tokyo: Bridgeway Press, 1959, pp., 157, ¥ 720.

This book is written out of a deep awareness of man's present fear of self destruction and with a sincere desire to find a practical solution to the dilemma. The author's (there is no introductory statement about him in either the book or the book-jacket) diagnosis of man's actual predicament comes early in the book when he states, "But actually, our problem is not a bomb at all. It's *behavior*." (p. 8) Thus man's ultimate defense is *not* to be sought in the resolution of the impending political and economic problems which are the bases of the "cold war" that may lead to atomic destruction. Rather the ultimate defense ("the

remedy") "is a workable way to get along with one another." "This remedy lies, and has lain for untold time, within easy reach of everyone. . . . It consists of a few simple principles by which humans may live together in peace and productivity." (p. 10) Our personal safety lies in race safety, and race safety is dependant upon every single human being.

The simple principles which make up "the remedy" are founded in the sacred writings of the various cultures of the world. But first it is necessary to eliminate "the masses of commentary and interpretation that make up the bulk of these

writings." The real principles come from the direct quotations of the "Ultimate Authority" of the various faiths, the "Master Teachers." When one ignores all of the conflict-producing commentary, it is quite obvious, according to the author, that the stipulations of the Master Teachers are in full agreement with one another. "This breath-taking harmony among the universally acknowledged Master-Thinkers provides the real and practical resolution of the atomic impasse." (p. 12)

The reader is given in the closing 100 pages of the book a listing of the most important quotations of the "Master-Thinkers" which make up the remedy. Included are quotes from the sacred writings of Christianity (20 pages), Hinduism (13 pages), Buddhism (19 pages), Confucianism (10 pages), Toaism (18 pages), Judiasm (4 pages) and Mohammedanism (5 pages).

Chapter two, Personal Preparation, tells one the various attitudes and steps which are needed to implement the precepts and make effective the remedy. One needs a "calm presumption of inevitable success...the 'good workman' complex...and the prediction of the *practically* of the tenets." (pp. 20-23) One must forgo all expression of force and violence, emotional, mental, as well as physical. Thus conversion is ruled out. One must witness to the remedy by portraying, "both the principles, and one's adherence to them, primarily through personal performance."

Details of application are shared in the third chapter. "Emotional pressure and proselying are only psychological substitutes for the physical club." (p. 42) Rather the "conversations in connection with the remedy should, then, be a casual comparison of notes between independant and intelligent equals, upon a matter of grave mutual interest." The fourth chapter deals with organization. Those who live by the remedy will not form any type of new organization. One may remain within his own faith. He need only alter his beliefs and behavior. But whether with individuals or other organizations, there must be "scrupulous non-offensiveness."

The main assets of this book are sincerity and logic. Its main defects are naivety and oversimplification. This book left the reviewer with the feeling that the author had only a "head-line" knowledge of the real issues involved in the problems of today's world. Certainly the change in the universe of discourse from the problem of atomic annihilation to the problem of individual behavior speaks of limited judgement. The author's assumption that we can distinguish between the actual quotations of the Master Teachers and the commentary of those who followed shows a great naivety in the complex problems of textual exegesis. The commentators could just as easily have made up quotes as well as commentary. No indication is given as to the basis for selection other than that of a pan-humanistic bias. The statement that there is a "breath-taking harmony" in the various scriptures is true only if the axiom reads, "things resembling the same thing are equal to each other." If the teachings of Mohammed are the same as the teachings of Jesus, why did not Mohammed simply quote Jesus since he was acquainted with him; and if Jesus' teachings were the same as Moses' teachings, why did Jesus not quote Moses. Each taught because each had a different understanding of the problems and answers.

There are a great number of statements which the students of history and religion would find questionable. There are certainly many statements which show that the author has only a casual knowledge of the tenets of the great religions, both as to their common aspects and to their great differences. In the light of the recent massacre of nearly six million Jews in Europe, this reviewer wonders how the writer can state, "But in reality, few of the persons desposed to use physical force can summon courage to attack anyone who so transcends their own limitations as neither to cower nor resist."

T. McD.

The Literature Rack

Compiled by *HOWARD HUFF*

Review of Three Books Recently Translated into Japanese

Stewart, Randall, **AMERIKA BUNGAKU TO KIRISUTOKYO**

Tokyo: Hokuseido Shoten 1958. cloth, ¥280. Translated by Professor Motoji Karita.

This is an excellent example of Tractarian writing. Dr. Stewart has a point to make and he does not blush at simplifying the picture in order to assure that the point gets made. In his preface he admits having 'selected the writers who interested me most and who served my partisan purpose best.'

This book intends to provoke a re-examination of the interpretation of American culture and its democratic assumptions. It flings a direct challenge at the assumption that America's unorthodox writers (unorthodox particularly in that they rejected original sin, which is Episcopalian—out of Tennessee Baptist forebears—Stewart's main criterion of orthodoxy) deserve to be regarded as either more 'American' or more 'democratic' than those who remained constant to the exhilarating doctrine of man's natural depravity.

A book like this can be more useful introducing Christianity to Japanese university students than half a dozen books of a more direct nature. For one thing, Stewart deals with personalities about whom the students have heard and of whose works they already know something. They can take a stance toward what this man says. When he raises an issue, they will recognize it as such.

For instance, Stewart states (p. 73) that he considers himself to be an acceptable democrat but is unwilling to accept the views of either Paine or Emerson, who are often thought to be typical of democratic thought in American literature.

Rather, Stewart wishes to follow the Christian interpretation. Paine and Emerson, in their respective ways, have built up a man-centered world. Christian dogma has built up a God-centered world. Between the two there lies a great difference: one view leads to pride and the other leads to humility.

That needs to be said, even if Stewart's saying of it is a bit pat and self-gratulatory. This reviewer is glad that it was said in America by an American. He is also glad that this book gives the Japanese opportunity to learn that it *is* being said. There has been a departure from the Christian understanding of man in America and this departure has been guided in part by men of letters. Stewart helps us to see what has happened and the conditions that have resulted.

In passing, allow me to pose one rather complex question: Is it possible that the Calvinist doctrine of election and inferences from it to the effect that 'the Elect shall prosper' had as much to do with the rise of the 'Gospel of Wealth' and the appearance of self-justifying industrial tycoons or 'robber barons' as did a popular translation of Emerson's 'Trust thyself' into a viciously individualistic 'Every man for himself' (p. 71)?

In either case the inference was unjustified. It was the rationalizing effort of sinful men. Yet both have contributed to a particularly offensive form of moral pride which sometimes emanates from citizens of the great American republic. If

Stewart fails to recognize this defect, he nonetheless knows the specific. 'The best of all rationals for democracy, and the most useful for the times, is the word of St. Paul: "All have sinned and fall short of the glory of God." (Rom. 3: 23), p. 74.

Samples drawn from various places in this book indicate that the translator is competent and has done good work. The translation is not wooden and it effectively employs Japanese idioms to translate American forms of speech which can not be translated literally.

Those readers who are familiar with hymns in the hymnal which are translations of certain American poems may wonder whether this translator does not know of the existence of the hymns or does not approve of the form that they have

received in being set to music. In any case he does not use them but gives us his own translations. The hypothesis that he does not know the Christian hymns is given substance by the careless way in which the book handles Scripture. On pages 33-34 appears a quotation from Psalm 166. It may be an editorial or printing error, but in the fifth line *Shu* (Lord) supplants *Shi* (Death), and the entire 15th line has dropped out creating an obvious *non-sequitur*.

The translator teaches both at St. Paul's and St. Sophia's Universities in Tokyo. Even so, one suspects that he knows something more about Christianity now than when he began to put this book into Japanese. If this book is properly distributed and used, many may profit by what this book has to say.

Packard, Vance, **KAKURETA SETTOKUSHA,**

Tokyo: Daimondo-sha, 1958, vinyl, ¥ 250. Translated by Shuji Hayashi.

This book is about marketing procedures that are already taking hold in Japan. Recently the newspapers have had frequent items on the increasing use of 'market research' or 'motivation research' by Japanese merchants. So far to my knowledge, no one has come into the open as an advocate of 'depth manipulation.'

But why review a book like this for the *JCQ*? Certainly it has nothing to do with Christianity. Oh, but it does! The whole approach that is here exposed depends upon a certain view of man, and it is *not* as the image of God. The book is replete with documentation of the many ways in which the irrationalities of consumers are ex-

ploited by those who purvey merchandise and are made to like it. It provides evidence of the demise of that human type which is known as the thrifty, industrious, 'bourgeois' Protestant and the rise of a deliberately inculcated post-Protestant culture. It causes us to ask disturbing questions about methods that are used both by General Motors and Billy Graham.

This is a book in dependable translation that will cause discussion and self-examination. It will call attention to a danger in contemporary Japan that is both more insidious and more real than nationalism. The original is available in a Pocket Book edition.

Nygren, Anders, **ROMABITO E NO TEGAMI KŌKAI**

Tokyo; Rūteru-sha, 1959, cloth and boards, ¥ 600. Translated by Professor Chitose Kishi.

Professor Kishi has been working on this translation of Nygren's great *Commentary on Romans* for ten years, giving his limited spare time to the project. This brief announcement can do no more than call your attention to this work, but that should be sufficient. Professor Kishi's eminent

qualifications leave no doubt as to the quality of the translation and the price is very low for a commentary so well bound and sewn. There is every reason to expect that this will become the standard commentary on Romans in Japan and every pastor and well-informed Christian will want a copy.

With the Missionary Fellowship

I. President's Page

"The missionary movement today stands in a critical situation It is difficult to escape the impression that there is today a certain hesitancy, a certain loss of momentum The churches in Asia are almost entirely from the loosely attached fringes of Asian society and have not penetrated into the ancient religious cultures to any significant extent In such a period, two wrong courses are open. One is to allow oneself to be ruled by the spirit of the time, instead of being driven back to the Bible itself, and to the fundamentals of the Gospel, in order to lay old afresh upon the real sources of the Christian mission The other wrong course is to try to escape from our hesitancy by going back instead of going forward, by trying to recapture both the methods and the mood of the 19th century . . . , developing a sort of missionary work which acts over the heads of the young churches as though they were not churches in the true sense at all and could be ignored But there is a third possibility It is that we should undertake the costly but exciting task of finding out what is the pattern for the Church's mission in the new day in which God has been pleased to put us."

These snatches from Lesslie Newbigin's thought-provoking little book, *One Body, One Gospel, One World—The Christian Mission Today* (pp. 8-11), succinctly express the situation in which we find ourselves as missionaries in Japan, at the turn of the century of the Protestant Christian mission in this land. If, within our Fellowship of Christian Missionaries, we can assist one another in this "costly but exciting task" of seeking God's will for the Christian mission in our day, then our purpose as a Fellowship will have been fulfilled.

To this end we soon shall gather for our Centennial Conference at the International Christian University, July 21 to 24. This issue of our *Quarterly* carries further information regarding the Conference program—speakers, addresses panel members, working group leaders. Suffice it to say that we look forward to seeing you there to share this significant conference with us. And won't you come not merely as a recipient but as a participant? For the entire conference has been planned with a view to the participation of all us in "appraising the Christian past, evaluating our times, and anticipating the next century."

Speaking of participation, there are a number of special features of the Conference in which we encourage your participation. First, if there are sufficient requests, we hope to have a Centennial tour on the afternoon of Tuesday, July 21st (before the Conference begins). This would be to points of historical and religious interest in the Tokyo area. If you are interested, won't you drop a card to the office of our Centennial Conference Arrangements Committee, 11 Kamiyama-cho, Shibuya Ku, Tokyo.

Also, we hope to have an exhibit of interesting historical material pertaining to the past century of Protestant Christian work. If you happen to have any such material

(book, manuscripts, photographs), we would appreciate your writing a line to the above office, and planning to bring the material with you to the Conference. Other aspects of the Conference (such as music and recreation) also need your assistance, so please offer your service "*enryo-naku*".

Though accommodations at the ICU will probably have been filled by the date of the issue of this *Quarterly*, if you are one of those victims of the habit of procrastination, write to the Arrangements Committee immediately and see whether some arrangements can be made for you and your family.

On April 14, the FCM Executive Committee shared an evening of inspiring and beneficial Christian fellowship with our fellow-missionaries who compose the Executive Committee of the Evangelical Missionary Alliance of Japan (EMAJ). As we sought greater mutual understanding and possible avenues of closer cooperation with each other, several specific opportunities were presented. One of these is the EMAJ Bible Conference which is being planned for Nojiri, July 27-29. (This is not the regular annual EMAJ Conference, which will be held in Karuizawa early in August. Rather its purpose is to share with the Nojiri missionary community the speakers who will come for the Karuizawa conference.) We hope that many FCM members will participate in this conference and take this opportunity to join with fellow-missionaries in a season of spiritual renewal through study of the Word of God.

As we look toward our gathering together in the next few weeks, may our prayer be that our God who has "visited this people" during the past century may prepare us to fulfil our calling "to give knowledge of salvation to this people" in the years ahead. (Luke 1: 67-79).

James Cogswell

II. Personals

Compiled by *Mrs. Darley Downs*

BIRTHS (IBC)

Judith Ann Van DYCK, born Jan. 20, 1959 and joined her family Feb. 18, 1959
Theodore Jackson KITCHEN March 29, 1959, Heidi Anastasia KITCHEN New York City, Thomas Davis CARRCK, April 22, 1959
Julie Keiko SCHAAFSMA, April 23, 1959
Nevin Jay CORL, May 1, 1959 Kathryn Hope SEARS, May 12, 1959.

ENGAGEMENTS

Miss Natalie TOWERS, a teacher at Can-

adian Academy, and Mr. Samuel SLACK, a J-3 teacher at Chinzei Gakuin, have recently announced their engagement.

WEDDINGS

Miss Jean MORRIS (IBC), and Rev. Beverley D. TUCKER (PE) in Sapporo, April 2, 1959 Miss Junko MATSUNO and Mr. William B. REDEKOP (IBC) teacher in Aoyama Gakuin, Apr. 5, '59.

DEATHS

Miss Alice FINLAIY, retired, former Me-

thodist missionary, died in Pasadena, Calif. Rev. William K. MATTHEWS, also a former Methodist missionary, passed away in Ocala, Florida.

Miss Anna MCLEOD, a retired missionary of the United Church in Canada, died in California on March 6, 1959.

Mrs. K. F. EITEL, wife of Dr. K. Eitel, passed away in Tokyo, April 17, 1959.

DEPARTURES (IBC)

Rev. and Mrs. H. SHORROCK are temporarily assigned to Korea where Mr. Shorrock is Director of Korean C. W. S.

Rev. and Mrs. Forrest JOHNSON returned to the U. S. in April; Miss Anne COBB, Miss Marjorie SIPPLE, and Mr. Samuel SLACK have left Japan having completed terms of service. Miss Lyda HOUSTON and Miss Katherine GREENBANK have left Japan for pre-retirement furloughs; and the following missionaries have left Japan for a regular furlough period: Miss Dulcie COOK, Miss Enid HORNING, Miss Marjorie TUNBRIDGE, Rev. and Mrs. Stewart ROBERTSON, Miss Elizabeth TENNANT, Miss Gwen SUTTIE, Miss Elizabeth VOEHRINGER Rev. and Mrs. John DE MAAGD, Rev. and Mrs. Richard LAMMERS, Rev. and Mrs. Howard

NORMAN, Miss Shirley RIDER, Mr. and Mrs. E. F. CAREY. Mrs. James Van HOEVEN, who has been teaching at Ferris Seminary, has joined her Chaplain husband in Korea. Mr. Douglas WILLIAMS, of Doshisha, flew to the U. S. in April due to a serious automobile accident involving his parents.

ARRIVALS

(PCC) Rev. and Mrs. Donald H. POWELL in May, and Mrs. Powell in June; 1 Takezono cho, Suita, Osaka.

Rev. and Mrs. Rodger TALBOT, in April; 24 Wakamiya cho, Hongo, Shinjuku ku, Tokyo.

(IBC) Miss Elizabeth HOWELL, Feb. 12 th; Fukuoka Jogakuin, 523 Minami Yakuin, Fukuoka.

Rev. and Mrs. Alden MATTHEWS, March 9 th; Tsurukawa P. O. Machida Shi, Tokyo.

Miss Angie Crew, March 10 th; Kobe Jogakuin, Okadayama, Nishinomiya.

Mr. & Mrs. Theodore FLAHERTY, April 2; 37 Yamate cho, Naka ku, Yokohama.

Rev. & Mrs. Leeds GULICK 9 th; Muro-machi dori, Imadegawa Agaru, Kamikyo ku, Kyoto. Miss Juanite BROWN, April 16 th; 11 Kono cho, Shibuya ku, Tokyo.

III. Meetings

EMAJ-FCM Conversations

In recent weeks two significant meetings have been held by representatives of the Evangelical Missionaries' Association of Japan and the Fellowship of Christian Missionaries, the two largest voluntary associations of missionaries in Japan. Considered by many to be at cross purposes with each

other (although there is an increasing number of missionaries related to both groups) the possible outcome of the recent conversations remains to be seen, but a genuine spirit of Christian fellowship and a desire for understanding and increased cooperation clearly marked the meetings.

On April 14 the Executive Committee of EMAJ entertained the FCM Executive Com-

mittee for supper and discussion at the San Bancho Hotel in Tokyo. Rev. Charles Corwin, President of EMAJ presided. Sixteen persons were in attendance, with equal representation of the two groups. Means of establishing better relationships and of effecting increased understanding of each other were freely discussed and possible procedures for the publication of a joint Missionary Directory were considered.

On May 21 representatives of both groups again met in the office of Rev. William Woodard to discuss procedures for a more uniform and reliable reporting of Christian statistics. Dr. Richard Drummond, Chairman of the FCM Publications Committee, chaired the session. The problem of conflicting, inaccurate statistical reports was confronted and plans made for a mutual sharing of information and the possible mutual support of an impartial agency for the

compilation of pertinent statistical information. Representatives of the National Christian Council were invited but did not attend. Originally proposed by Kenny Joseph, the meeting was beginning at the type of cooperation long desired by many missionaries.

Summer Conferences

The plans for the usual (and unusual!) conferences scheduled for the coming summer cannot be reported here in full but the following dates will be of interest to many: JULY 21-24 FCM CENTENNIAL CONFER-

ENCE, I. C. U. TOKYO (See announcement elsewhere)

JULY 27-29 NOJIRI BIBLE CONFERENCE sponsored by EMAJ.

JULY 30-AUG. 4 EMAJ CONFERENCE in Karuizawa.

AUG. 6 following-DEEPER LIFE CONFERENCE, Karuizawa.

IV. Correspondence

Limitation in space prevent inclusion of much of the correspondence which has come to the Editor, but the following should be noted:

Dear Editor:

Just for the sake of historical truth, the creation of the words *seinen* (青年) and *shukyo* (宗教) by late Rev. Kozaki, Sr. (JCQ Vo 1. XXV No. 2 p. 149) seems to be a myth. *Seinen* meaning young man appears in a poem by famous Tohko Fujita who died in 1857 and *shukyo* meaning religion in the commercial treaty between Japan and Germany concluded in 1869. Both years, of course, are just about the time of birth and childhood of Kozaki respectively. This does not increase nor decrease his greatness, I believe.

[As to the present truth, I am not teaching at Aoyama Gakuin or related to *Nihon Katei Seishokai* (Japan Home Bible League). I hope you would

check before you write about some one. Thank you.]

Yours faithfully,
Yozo Yuasa

JCQ apologizes to writer Yuasa for this mistake. The information used in introducing him in the *Our Contributors* page of the April issue was taken from the 1958 *Kirisutokyo Nenkan* (Christian Yearbook) which was obviously in error. Our appreciation also for the correction of the erroneous information in the translation of the above mentioned NCC published material.

Dear Sir:

Thank you for your review of *The Two Empires In Japan* in your last issue and the kind remarks ("a 'must' for the missionary . . . a masterly piece of writing . . .") May I, however, point out a few discrepancies?

R. G. Wright is alive and very active in Tokyo today. It was John Hewitt, and not Mr. Wright,

who was presented in the book as "Protestantism's only missionary martyr in Japan." As for that phrase, until concrete evidence is produced to the contrary (and I think none exists) I think it should stand. Dr. Paul S. Mayer is authority for the statement, "Among Protestant missionaries in Japan . . . there has been no one who has met the fate of a martyr." (1955 Yearbook, p. 12) He, however, was no doubt not familiar with the circumstances of John Hewitt's death.

"The use of the term 'evangelical'" was not limited to those in the JBCC but was applied to a large number outside of it. (See page 143.) May we ask, does the reviewer believe that whether or not truth has been compromised is to be determined by whether or not "pressures and subtle psychology" has been applied? Do not these latter rather provide the testing, so that compromise is determined by what one does with the truth under such circumstances? Where there is confession and repentance of compromise, who would not gladly forgive? When compromise is publicly defended (see p. 69) should not this be rebuked and the Church warned against it? Would Jesus say "Thy sins be forgiven thee" when there was a refusal to acknowledge that sin had been committed?

As for the question, "If there was compromise will the recital of the record achieve anything today?" a strong affirmative would probably be wasted on one who would ask it. Perhaps the best one can do then is to ask in return, "And what has the covering up and defence of the compromise achieved?" For the answer to *that* question one does not have far to look as the sick-unto-death N. K. Kyodan is all around us.

Sincerely yours,
John M. L. Young

The Editor acknowledges his mistake in the book review and apologizes to both Mr. Young and to R. G. Wright. As to the opinions expressed regarding Mr. Young's book we will make no further

comment but feel that this reply of his deserves to be shared with our readers.

Just for sake of balance, let us include one or two samples of the "praise" that came our way, too.

The "gateway" idea for the 1959 *JCQ* is excellent. These numbers are a good pump primer for someone like me who knows little about Japan, and presumably a good filler of gaps for someone who knows.

Paul Peachey

. . . the *JCQ* seems to be off to a flying start to a wonderful volume this year—Thank you from my heart as one of the *new band*.

Fred Horton

APPRECIATION

The Editor wishes to express the genuine appreciation of the Staff of *JCQ* to three members of the staff who, because of furloughs, have resigned their responsibilities.

Mrs. John deMaagd returned to the States the middle of March. Rev. William Billow, Miss Elaine Buteyn, and Miss Pauline Starn, will be leaving shortly TO EACH OF THESE THE HEARTFELT THANKS OF THE EDITOR AND OF ALL THE READERS OF *JCQ*.

SEE YOU AT I.C.U. July 21-24

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a n d

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